The Outlook

JUNE 6, 1917

Offices, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York

BONDHOLDERS OF DEMOCRACY

The greatest industrial concern in the history of the world is being organized.

You can own a share in this concern if you buy a Liberty bond.

The greatest philanthropic enterprise in the history of the world has begun operations; an enterprise which looks to the salvation, not of towns and cities, but of nations and races.

You can play your part in this enterprise if you buy a Liberty bond.

The United States, in the name of its allies, has issued a world-wide insurance policy on the life of civilization itself.

Your share of the premium is the price of a Liberty bond.

Buy early and often.

HOW TO INVEST IN THE LIBERTY LOAN

What is a Liberty bond? It is a certificate that the United States Government owes to the holder the amount named on the bond's face—$50 or $100,000, or some sum between these two extremes.

The total amount of the Liberty Loan is $2,000,000,000.

Its interest rate is 3½ per cent a year. Interest is payable on December 15 and June 15.

If before the war ends bonds are issued bearing a higher rate of interest, the holders of the bonds now to be issued may exchange them for bonds bearing such higher rate. The bonds are exempt from all Federal, State, or local taxes except the inheritance tax. Besides interest the Government will pay back the full amount of the bond in thirty years—that is to say, on June 15, 1947; but the Government has the right to pay this amount any time after fifteen years.

The bonds are of two classes: coupon bonds, in denominations of $50, $100, $500, and $1,000; and registered bonds, in denominations of $100, $500, $1,000, $5,000, $10,000, $50,000, and $100,000.

Subscriptions will be received until June 15, 1917, unless the subscription books are closed earlier. Subscriptions are payable either in full or in installments. If the latter be preferred, 2 per cent must be paid on application, 18 per cent on June 28, 20 per cent on July 30, 30 per cent on August 15, and 30 per cent on August 30, 1917. The delivery of the bonds is expected to be made about July 1, 1917, or on completion of the payments.

Applications should be transmitted through the subscriber's bank, trust company, or other agency acting on his behalf, or it may be filed direct with the Federal Reserve Bank of his district or the Treasury Department at Washington. Application for bonds to be paid for by installment should read somewhat as follows:

> The undersigned hereby applies for $—— par value of the 15-30-year 3½ per cent gold bonds of the United States, and agrees to pay par and accrued interest for any bonds allotted on this application. The sum of $—— is inclosed, being two per cent of the amount of bonds applied for.

But not every American can afford to take advantage even of this opportunity to pay on installments. Yet he wants to buy a Liberty bond. What can he do? He could afford to buy it if he could pay on longer time. He can do this.

He can go to his bank, broker, or department store and subscribe for a $50 bond, paying for it by weekly or monthly payments, interest being charged on the amount owed, the amount being constantly reduced by the payments.

Or he can take advantage of such a plan as that put forth by the Federal Reserve Bank of New York in its issuance of participation certificates in amounts of $10. Upon surrender of a $10 certificate, accompanied by four others of like amount, the holder will receive a $50 bond, with all coupons attached. These securities are bought in blocks by stores, employers of labor, and other distributors for reselling, and may be accumulated by the individual to suit every convenience of time.

WHAT TO INVEST IN THE LIBERTY LOAN

Not only will the opportunity to invest on a broader installment plan than that proposed by the Government mean a proportionately increased number of investors; it will also emphasize a general principle, namely, that this loan should be floated, whenever possible, with the help of money which has not yet been invested either by the owner or his bank. Suppose a man takes his money out of his savings bank to invest in these bonds. He would gratify his patriotic feeling in so doing, but from an economic standpoint he simply compels the savings bank to throw on the market just so much of its securities, and the market must bear that load.

The economic theory of investment means that such bonds should, if possible, be bought out of current savings. Hence the employer of labor who arranges to carry bonds for his employees, letting them pay monthly or weekly installments on them, is doing, we are convinced, a real economic as well as a patriotic service.

In the next place, a good deal has been said about this bond issue being a rich man's loan, and so it is. Many rich men have invested because they would rather have a Government bond at a low rate of interest with the tax-exempt feature than a corporation bond at a high rate of interest which is not only now subject to a high tax but is doubtless to be taxed still higher. If these bonds are absorbed by owners who seek tax exemption, they will hardly be released; hence, if the people want to make this a really democratic bond issue, they should buy these bonds now, for they are not likely to find them for sale later.

But of course the main reason for subscribing to this loan is the patriotic reason. Writing to the Liberty Loan Committee, ex-President Roosevelt says:

> As you know, I offered my personal services to the United States. It was my deepest wish to go personally with troops to France. My disappointment only emphasizes my understanding of the position of those men and women making up the great majority of our people who cannot render active service in the fighting line, and who, for this very reason, seek immediate, tangible ways of expressing their patriotism and loyalty.
>
> The highest human service is that of a man who offers his life to his country. Next to that come the services in factory and farm and office which help keep the great National war machinery efficiently working. And the outstanding and fundamental need, without which nothing can be accomplished, is the need for money; money from rich and poor, money in large sums and small. The motto you have adopted is excellent: "If you cannot enlist—invest. Buy Liberty bonds."
>
> I myself have invested in these bonds. There is every reason for buying them. The patriotic reason is enough. But here, in addition, there is offered the best security in the world, an investment backed by all the credit of the Government and people of the United States.
>
> There is no surer bond between a man and his country than that he should be a bondholder of his country. Let us see that this bond issue is a bond issue of democracy. Let us make "the bondholders" and "the people" interchangeable terms.

WHAT CONGRESS HAS BEEN DOING

To the criticism that "Congress lags" Senator Martin, of Virginia, offers as an effective rejoinder the following list of bills which have passed both houses:

> 1. The Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill. 2. The General Deficiency Appropriation Bill. 3. The Army Appropriation Bill.

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4. The Military Academy Appropriation Bill. 5. The General Army and Navy Deficiency Appropriation Bill. 6. The Seven Billion Dollar Bond Bill. 7. The Draft Bill. 8. The German Interned Ships Bill. 9. The Navy and Marine Corps Increase Bill. 10. The Spy Bill.

But this does not distinguish between bills, like the Draft Bill, which were outrageously delayed and bills, like the Tax Bill and the latest Administration Food Bill, which have gone through the House of Representatives with such lightning rapidity as to induce the belief that the House followed its Democratic leader's example in shutting its eyes and voting for any kind of legislation.

When, after its passage in the House, the Tax Bill reached the Senate's Finance Committee, its amount, $1,857,000,000, was in one day promptly pared down by one-third. This is doubly wise. First, a twelve hundred million dollar taxation, wisely imposed, will not demoralize business. Secondly, it will not defeat the Government's endeavor to have the public absorb an immense bond issue.

But the Committee did not stop with the amount of taxation. In method of taxation it showed the House of Representatives what that body ought to have done by immediately striking out the proposed increase in second-class mail rates, substituting instead a tax on all advertising, whether in newspapers, magazines, billboards, or anything else.

Next it abandoned the vicious retroactive tax proposed to be levied on incomes for the calendar year 1916.

Then it modified the excess profits tax, so that in place of a levy on general earnings there will be a levy on earnings resulting from the war. Of course, upon the method by which this additional tax is computed will depend its entire justification.

The Committee is now considering modifying the proposed ten per cent first duty on articles now on the free list. The absurdity of including some items in a dutiable list is seen when we realize that the Shipping Board has been endeavoring to construct a fleet of wooden ships, and yet the House bill would tax lumber at a time when its importation from Canada has vital need of encouragement. Again, we produce practically no nickel, and yet need it to make armor plate and shells. So far from encouraging its importation, the House bill would put a ten per cent tax on it. The Senate Committee will doubtless deal fairly with these matters, as it already has in removing the proposed duty on all musical instruments not operated mechanically.

The Food Bill, which has now passed the House, carries an appropriation of $14,770,000 for a food survey, and for increasing production, conserving supply, preventing waste of food, and supervising distribution. The bill is also notable as including an amendment proposed by Miss Jeannette Rankin, Representative from Montana, providing that women, so far as is practicable, shall be employed to obtain the information required. Despite its good features, the bill did not pass without sharp Republican criticism. Representative Campbell, of Kansas, for instance, exclaimed: "The people . . . seek bread, and are met by a food survey which can be of no use when made. You send seven thousand investigators out . . . for a useless inquiry which will furnish seven thousand jobs."

The House has now, we are glad to say, agreed to the $750,000,000 appropriation passed by the Senate to provide for the great fleet of cargo carriers with which the United States proposes to feed Europe. As first announced, this fleet would consist largely of wooden cargo vessels—"green timber ships." But as time progressed it was seen that the steel supply was going to be much larger than had been supposed, especially as the British Government agreed to turn over to the United States all of its ship-building contracts—over a million tonnage. Hence the Federal Shipping Board announces that it will go ahead as originally planned, using both steel and wood to the limit of the shipyards' capacity; that as soon as it is possible to turn to steel exclusively it will do so, but that for the present, when we need every available ton of shipping to thwart the German submarines and to carry supplies to the Allies, it will build wood as well as steel ships. The programme calls for the building of three millions of ship tonnage in eighteen months, without reference to material of construction. Wooden ships can be built without interfering with the construction of steel vessels. The question of speed in completion is, of course, of vital significance.

WHAT IS OUR CENSORSHIP TO BE?

From the Committee on Public Information, of which Mr. George Creel is chairman, there has been issued a preliminary statement to the press of the United States upon its duties and privileges in the present war. In this statement there is an outline of those subjects which it is considered inadvisable for the press to discuss and to publish in time of war and of the method by which newspaper editors, when in doubt, can secure the Government's visé of any proposed article.

Many of the items recorded in this outline as imperative to withhold from publication are obviously wisely excluded. For example, every one would recognize the inadvisability of reporting any movement of Canadian troops through the territory of the United States; any one can see that news of the departure of merchant ships from our ports or the schedules of traveling official missions in transit through the United States should be withheld. These are matters of definite fact, and as such can be easily classified and guarded against.

The border line, however, between fact and critical opinion is perhaps not as easy to define as some have inferred. No hard and fast rules can or should be laid down for the handling of the great mass of news material and editorial criticism which appears in the daily press of the country. Censorship of the press must be exercised through co-operation and consultation, and not through force and bureaucratic pressure.

Lord Bryce once said, if we remember correctly, that the "New England colonists could have made any kind of constitution work." It will require much of the same kind of intelligence which was manifested by the New England colonists to make any kind of a censorship function adequately in the United States.

DEBATABLE MATTERS OF OPINION

On the cover of the preliminary statement which we have been discussing is the following quotation from President Wilson. He says:

> I can imagine no greater disservice to the country than to establish a system of censorship that would deny to the people of a free republic like our own their indisputable right to criticise their own public officials. While exercising the great powers of the office I hold, I would regret in a crisis like the one through which we are now passing to lose the benefit of patriotic and intelligent criticism.

It is a little difficult to reconcile this admirable statement of the President's with the following sweeping admonition of the Department of State which is contained in the pamphlet upon which the President's remarks appear:

> The Department of State considers it dangerous and of service to the enemy to discuss differences of opinion between the Allies and difficulties with neutral countries.
>
> Speculation about possible peace is another topic which may possess elements of danger, as peace reports may be of enemy origin, put out to weaken the combination against Germany.
>
> Generally speaking, articles likely to prove offensive to any of the Allies or to neutrals would be undesirable.

Surely, in such matters as these the Government can depend upon the patriotism and the good sense of the great mass of American journalists. The proposed Socialist conference in Sweden, for instance, has been appraised at its true worth by the great mass of American editors. Is it not better to permit them to point out to their readers the sinister purport of this conference than to veil its happenings in silence?

It is entirely possible that our Allies may differ in their plans for the disposal, for instance, of the remains of the Turkish Empire. What harm can come in discussing such differences of opinion if such discussion is carried on for the purpose of helping rather than hindering in the reaching of a proper decision?

Naturally, articles gratuitously offensive to our Allies are undesirable, and it is greatly regretted that such gratuitous insults

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have not already been entirely eliminated. The sweeping request of the State Department, however, might be taken as applying to all discussion of the Irish question, of the Freiburg reprisals, or to any comment on Russia's internal situation. We have too much respect for our Allies to believe that they do not want to be treated man fashion in the discussion of their affairs.

The workings of strict censorship will hit the daily press harder than the weekly press, for in the daily press appears the great bulk of the record of events as they develop, a record which to satisfy the reader must be prepared, not only with accuracy, but with despatch. If mistakes are to be made, we hope sincerely that they will be made in the direction of trusting the press too much rather than too little.

GENERAL WOOD IN ATLANTA

In the illustrated section of this week's Outlook appears a picture taken during the reception tendered to General Wood in the city of Atlanta. Apparently in this city, as in the other parts of the South where General Wood has been in the pursuance of his new duties as Commander of the Department of the Southeast, the welcome accorded him was in the highest degree significant of the attitude of that section of the country towards the European war and the question of universal service.

General Wood is adding daily to the great debt which the country owes him for his services in arousing the Nation to the seriousness of the problem confronting it and to the need of approaching this problem upon a basis of Nation-wide patriotism.

Before the great throng surrounding the reviewing-stand upon which General Wood stood to witness the parade in his honor at Atlanta he said:

> I want you to remember this. It is now six weeks since war was declared, and yet the Officers' Reserve Corps is just beginning to train, just as we are but beginning to prepare all over the Nation. I know of no greater lesson in preparedness that could be given.
>
> It teaches us that in time of peace we should prepare for war. There is no time to prepare after war has come. That we may go ahead and prepare to-day after war has been declared is due only to the fact that we have strong allies already fighting who are protecting us while we prepare. We should train our men, manufacture our guns, munitions, and equipment in time of peace, so that when war does come it will find us ready.
>
> We should never let this happen again.

The message which General Wood brought to Atlanta he has been preaching for many years. It is a message which, perhaps better than any other, will stand repetition after repetition.

A PLEA FROM FRANCE

We have already recorded the President's decision not to accept the Roosevelt volunteer divisions. It is perhaps no time to indulge in regret, but it is certainly interesting to record a plea which comes to us from France for the utilization of the material which we have thrown away. It appears in an open letter by Georges Clemenceau in "L'Homme Enchainé" to President Wilson. It has been translated and published in the New York "Times." In part it reads:

> Allow me to say, in all candor, that at the present moment there is in France one name which sums up the beauty of American intervention. It is the name Roosevelt, your predecessor, even your rival, but with whom there can now be no other rivalry than heartening success. . . .
>
> Roosevelt was one of the greatest craftsmen in the great laborious work which will constitute your glory. . . .
>
> He wished to raise four volunteer divisions of infantry to be incorporated in our armies. The Senate and Congress did not withhold consent. If the law has charged you, Mr. President, with all the practical issues of the undertaking, it is no less true that Roosevelt represents a vast potential factor which a statesman is unable to overlook. Roosevelt cannot come alone, for his prestige on our battlefields demands that he come with prestige conferred on him by his countrymen. I claim for Roosevelt only what he claims for himself—the right to appear on the battlefield surrounded by his comrades. . . .
>
> We have just heard of the arrival of the first American unit on our front. All our hearts beat. With what joy our soldiers greeted the starry banner! Yet you must know, Mr. President, more than one of our "poilus" asked his comrade: "But where is Roosevelt? I don't see him." It is to convey this remark to you, not knowing whether my message will reach you, that I have written this letter. . . . No other impulse impels me but the idea of what occupies your own mind.

M. Clemenceau has summed up adequately the strength of the inspiration which has now been dissipated.

THE ITALIAN ADVANCE TOWARD TRIESTE

General Cadorna has shown extraordinary energy in pushing the Italian offensive in the whole sector of warfare to the north and west of Trieste. Both on the Carso Plateau itself and in that narrow strip of land which lies between the southwestern edge of the plateau and the extreme northern end of the Adriatic Sea Italian troops have fought with courage; they have made assault after assault, established new lines, and occupied heights which have strategic value. They also have taken what is, for the time involved and the number of men engaged, an immense number of prisoners. As the situation stood on May 29, the town of Duino, which is near the extreme northern end of the Adriatic, was seriously threatened by the Italian advance. Its capture would be a long step toward Trieste, for from Duino to Trieste along the coast is less than ten miles, and both a railway and a highway run between the two places. On the other hand, it would be impossible to make this advance unless and until the Italian forces occupy the corresponding part of the southern end of the Carso Plateau, which all but overhangs the route. At present the Italian army occupy less than a third of the entire Plateau, and their line runs almost directly south from Gorizia to the coast. The Austrians still hold the other two-thirds of the Plateau, to the east of the Italian lines, while from Gorizia north the battle line runs in a double curve up to a point two or three miles west of Tolmino.

Trieste is guarded by nature (that is, by the relative situation of rivers, sea, and mountains) in what seems an almost impregnable fashion. If General Cadorna succeeds in this campaign in forcing his way to Trieste, it will be a marvelous achievement.

Italy undoubtedly deserves more credit than she has generally received for her military operations. Last year, when the Austrians and Germans were pushing their offensive on the Trentino front, Italy's fate hung in the balance for a few days. That she was able to hold firm on that front was partly due to General Brusiloff's advance in Russia, which prevented the Austrians from following up their advantage. The Italian defense in the Trentino was nevertheless a fine piece of military work. On the Isonzo River front, and in all the movements aimed ultimately against Trieste, the Italian army has performed marvels in pushing attacks in a country so difficult that it might almost be called impossible for such operations. What they have done in the last two or three weeks is indicated by the report of May 6, that their prisoners up to that time numbered over twenty-two thousand, and this number has been considerably increased since then. If it is true, as reported on May 28, that the Italian infantry are within a mile of Duino, have crossed the river Timavo, and have a foothold on the commanding slope of Monte Hermada, their situation is most encouraging. It should be said in fairness, however, that the Austrian despatches claim that the Italian losses have been heavy, and that the Austrian line still remains unshattered.

THE SOCIALIST DANGER

The proposed international conference of Socialists at Stockholm seems doomed to be a one-sided and uninfluential affair. Two great nations of the Allies—Great Britain and the United States—will not be represented. Germany will be represented by just such delegates as its Government is willing to have attend; absolute refusal to others to cross the border has been reported. Indeed, the belief increases that Socialist agitation inspired by Germany is at the back of the Stockholm conference.

Under these circumstances, public opinion in this country will sustain the action of our State Department in refusing passports

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to the American delegates, particularly as many American Socialists, including leaders of National reputation, declare that the delegates do not truly represent American Socialism, and that they would be influenced unduly by the delegates from our enemy, Germany.

The receiving of passports is not a right, but a privilege. In time of war it would be folly for our Government to send abroad with its special sanction and protection men whose purpose is inconsistent with American interests—and that whether or not their intentions seem to themselves injurious to America. In war time the Government may rightly claim to be the judge as to this.

The Russian situation adds point to this refusal of passports. We have sent a Commission to Russia to aid the new democracy to act wisely and prudently. Misrepresentation at Stockholm might easily undo much of this effort. The latest despatches from Petrograd indicate that the social and industrial crisis is growing graver every week. It is said that workmen are demanding enormous increases in wages and actual control of factories, and that production is almost at a standstill. The Russian Minister of Finance is quoted as saying that only a miracle can save Russia from economic ruin, and there is even an ominous statement—one that we earnestly hope is unfounded—that the Socialist Ministers of the Government say that the only way to settle the difficulties is to bring the war to a close. We call the attention of readers to an article on the Russian situation on another page from our Staff Correspondent Mr. George Kennan.

TWO SHOCKS TO BRITISH CONSERVATISM

British conservatism has just received two distinct shocks. The first is the actual granting of the vote to women. By a vote of 329 to 40 the Franchise Reform Bill has passed the House of Commons on its second reading—which is tantamount to enactment. The bill, however, is by no means a complete suffrage measure. By its terms no woman may vote until she is thirty years old, and the women enfranchised, we understand, include only those who are already local government electors, university electors, and the wives of voters. The last-named class is, of course, by far the largest, constituting as it does no less than 5,200,000 out of the 6,000,000 women added to the voters of England.

The second shock to British conservatism comes from the unanimous refusal of the Sinn Feiners, the extreme Irish Radicals, at their Dublin conference, to participate in any conference "called by the English Government ostensibly to settle the Irish question" until the following conditions are fulfilled:

1. The terms referring the question to the conference shall leave the conference free to decree the complete independence of Ireland.
2. The English Government shall publicly pledge itself to the United States and to the European Powers to ratify the decision of a majority of the conference.
3. The convention shall consist of none but persons freely elected by the adult suffrage of Ireland.
4. Prisoner-of-war treatment shall be accorded to the Irish prisoners arrested during the recent revolution.

It is unfortunate, we think, that the proposed convention is to be a non-elected convention; it will therefore not be representative of Irish opinion, as an elective convention would have been. But is this a reason for an irreconcilable minority like the Sinn Feiners to refuse absolutely to participate in it?

It may be that the extremists in Ireland are relying upon the support of American public opinion more than is justified either by the claims or numbers of sympathizers here.

AN EDUCATIONAL ENVOY TO FRANCE

Dr. John H. Finley, President of the University of the State of New York, and, by virtue of his office as President, the State Commissioner of Education, is now in France, carrying with him the good will of the educators of this country, and making a study of what the universities and schools of France have done under the exigencies of the war. To the school-teachers and children of France he carries the greetings of the President of the United States; to the educational institutions of France he bears letters of cordial regard from the colleges and universities of America—in particular, the greetings and wishes of good hope from the regents of the University of the State of New York; and for the study of the schools and universities of France he has profited by the counsel of competent advisers.

It is not surprising that President Finley has been received with great cordiality. On his arrival the French Minister of Public Instruction issued a proclamation of welcome, and soon after his arrival there was received in this country by mail the announcement of the award to Dr. Finley of the Malte-Brun Medal for his book "The French in the Heart of America." This medal, issued by the Société de Géographie, is, in the words of the official communication, "designated each year for the greatest honor of the science of geography," and by this particular award the Société renders "homage to an eminent scholar who, in a work of great significance, has shown the ties which unite America to France."

It is interesting to note that the report which accompanies the announcement makes special mention of the fact that President Finley "passed his childhood in Illinois, in a country filled with the memories of our first colonists, and from his college days, when he read Parkman, felt growing in him a love for New France."

We hope that Dr. Finley's presence in France will help to bring cheer from their new allies to a people who for two years and a half have been struggling against barbarous invaders, and that on his return he will bring ideas that will be of value in helping to solve the educational problems that have been made more acute by the war.

POPULAR UNREST IN HUNGARY

Count Stefan Tisza, Hungarian Prime Minister, has resigned. He has been a chief prop of autocracy in Europe south of Prussia. A man of courage—as has been shown by his readiness to fight frequent duels and by his pluck years ago when he was shot at in the House of Deputies—Count Tisza has been a characteristic Magyar magnate of the old conservative order which will not listen to the voice of democracy if it can help it.

There is little real democracy in Hungary.

Of the two houses of Parliament, the upper, the House of Magnates, comprises the Hungarian princes and nobles, life peers, and great landowners. The lower house is representative only because it is chosen by male citizens who pay a certain direct tax on land, property, or income. This debars three-quarters of the men of twenty or over who are otherwise qualified to vote.

Of course, therefore, there has been democratic dissatisfaction in Hungary, just as in the case of Prussia.

Before his fall Count Tisza recognized the strength of this opposition movement and grudgingly brought in a scheme for enlarging the franchise. He would give the vote to peasants owning eleven acres of land and to soldiers who had received a medal for courage. But naturally this did not pacify those who wanted real freedom.

The fall of Tisza is not due directly to the conduct of the war, but rather to that which underlies the war—the domination over the many by the privileged and favored few.

COMMENCEMENTS AND THE WAR

Secretary Lane, of the Department of the Interior, suggests that in the Commencement exercises of this year pre-eminence should be given to the discussion of the causes and purpose of the war. We quote some of the topics which he submits as suitable themes. In parentheses are suggested references:

(1) Belgium's Wrongs. (2) The Debt of the United States to France. (3) What Russia Did for the United States in the Civil War. (4) Uses of Photographs in War. (5) War Bread—How Made. (6) The American Negro as a Soldier. Story of his contribution to the Army and Navy in earlier wars; his character as a soldier when well led (Crispus Attucks and the Boston Massacre; John Chavis and the revolution in North Carolina;

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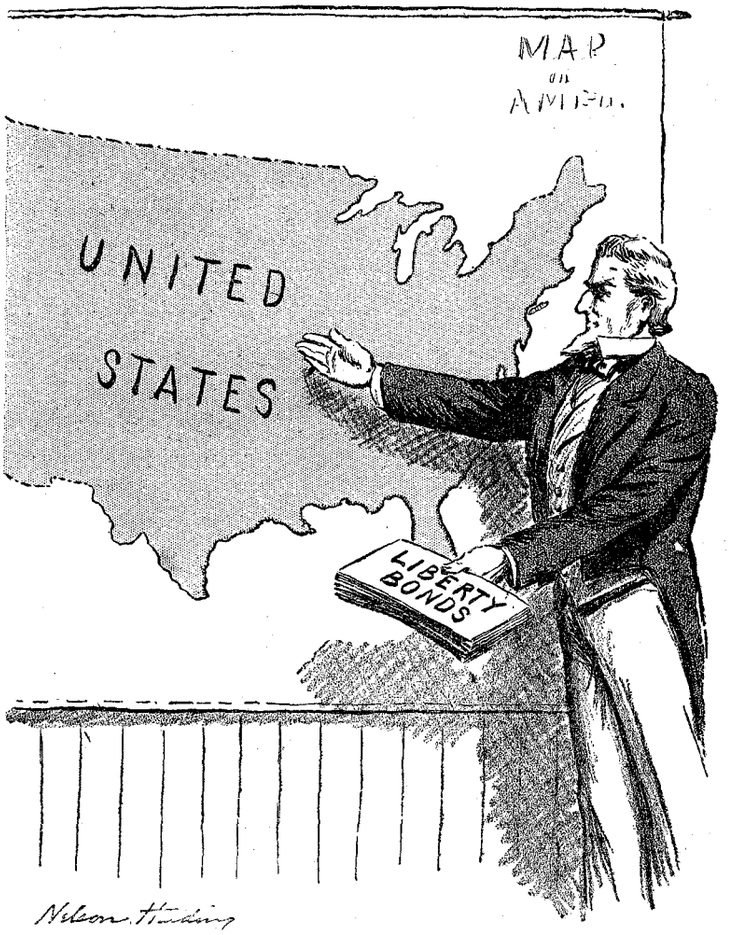
CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

Harding in the Brooklyn Eagle



"AND THIS IS YOUR SECURITY!"

Knott in the Dallas (Texas) News

"MR. SMALL INVESTOR, COME HELP FLOAT IT!"

Thomas in the Detroit News

THE LIBERTY LINE

Carter in the Philadelphia Press

BRINGING UP THE AMMUNITION!

Kirby in the New York World

THE TWO WHO WILL WIN THE WAR

REASONS FOR BUYING LIBERTY BONDS

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services in the War of 1812, in the Civil War, in the war with Spain, where Negro troops saved Colonel Roosevelt. His work at Battery Wagner, at the Crater, at San Juan Hill. Williams's "History of the Negro Race in America," and other works.) (7) The English Ideal of Liberty. Trace the development of the growth of the English Constitution from the earliest times and show its relation to the American form of government. (8) The Democracy of Universal Service. (9) American Aid to Stricken Europe—Relief Work in Belgium. Red Cross; ambulance service by American universities. (Hunt's "War Bread" and similar books, "Red Cross Magazine.") (10) War and Thrift. The Governmental regulations of food, fuel, clothing; what habits are likely to be carried over into ordinary life after the urgency conditions are removed; how each person can help. (11) Development of the Various Sciences during the War. Medicine, surgery, sanitation, physics, chemistry, navigation, aviation. (12) The Council for National Defense: What It Means to the Nation. (13) Treatment of Our Alien Born. ("The Promised Land," by Mary Antin.) (14) Honor in Public Service. How a National emergency drives out sectional interest, "pork barrel" legislation, and personal and petty profit. (Newspaper and periodical accounts of losses in Russia due to "graft," England's early losses from the same causes combined with inefficiency, especially Gallipoli, Amora, Greece, and Rumania. Compare with offers of aid such as Ford Motor Works, Bethlehem Steel Company, lower prices on copper to the Government. Action and speeches in Congress, abolishment of party lines.)

We heartily commend these suggestions. It should be borne in mind that those themes will be found most useful which can be discussed on a basis of fact and authentic information. If we are to fight this war successfully, we must know what we are doing. The school, the college, the university, is a means available throughout the country for disseminating knowledge of the causes and the purpose of this war.

TO BOYS UNDER MILITARY AGE

On the ground that the Government cannot spare the equipment necessary, the War Department has rejected the plan submitted to it for training camps for boys between the ages of seventeen years and twenty years nine months. Just at the time when they need this training most to prepare them for the military duties that the country has laid upon them and will require of them if the war continues, the Government declines to train them. Just at the time when the enthusiasm of thousands of these boys is of the greatest value to the country it is dampened. Just at the time, too, when the remarkable success of the camp at Plum Island last year has proved the extraordinary receptivity of these young men to military training, the Government chooses not to profit by that successful experiment.

Now that war has been declared between the United States and Germany, instead of having a citizen army, properly officered, ready for the task, the Nation must take untrained men of military age and train them. It was probably too much to expect that Government officials engaged in the immediate task of building up from nothing a great citizen army for fighting in the trenches could have spared any time or energy in getting ready for the future.

As so often happens in the American democracy, what the Government ought to do but leaves undone is undertaken less efficiently by private citizens on their own initiative. So it is in this case. There will be no Plum Island—nothing corresponding to it; but if those who would have enrolled in the camp communicate with the Military Training Camps Association, Junior Division, 19 West Forty-fourth Street, New York City, inclosing stamped and addressed envelope for reply, they may learn of something that may serve in some measure as a substitute for Plum Island or Plattsburg. For instance, they may learn about the camps which are to be held under private auspices in the neighborhood of certain schools, where, in certain cases at least, there will be agricultural as well as military training. They may perhaps learn, if they make inquiry, concerning private summer camps that have military features. They may, if they specify, learn in detail about such training corps as that maintained this year at Harvard to which are eligible "graduates or students in any college and well-qualified men who are not college graduates" between the age limits of nineteen and thirty-five, where they will be in charge of three captains of the United States Regular Army, and where they will be trained by the Mission Militaire of six French officers, under the command of Major Azan, sent over by the French Government. Inquirers may also learn of plans for training corps in other colleges such as Princeton or Williams.

Attendance at any of these camps will, of course, involve expense. Even those boys, however, who cannot afford such expense should keep in touch with the Military Training Camps Association.

REGISTRATION DAY

JUNE 5, Registration Day, will be remembered as a notable event in our history.

If the country is wise, it will be remembered as a day on which all those of the military ages specified by our Government marched to the registration polls and volunteered as a mass.

That is what registration should mean. Those who inscribe their names on the rolls must say to their country: "For whatever service we are fitted, take us. In the war upon which we have entered it is not for every individual to select the position he will defend. Some there are who have already found their places in the scheme of National defense. They have gladly taken up their work in the Army, the Navy, the Marine Corps, or the National Guard. We have called such men volunteers, but they must share that honorable name with us. We honor those who have been self-selected for service, but we, too, stand ready for selection when our country says, 'I want your help, and yours, and yours.'"

There are signs that ghosts of former "conscriptions" may mar the spontaneous enthusiasm of the present call to service.

The recruiting officers whose slogan is "Be A Went, Not A Sent" show greater zeal than understanding of the present crisis. It is not an army of unwilling conscripts, but a consecrated army, which America is to send to the war.

UNSEEN FORCES IN THE WORLD WAR

For nearly three years attention has been riveted on the battles between the contending armies in the field, and hopes and discouragements have succeeded each other with the varying fortunes on land and on water. Meanwhile a campaign between ideals has been taking place unnoticed but not unimportant. This battle of ideals, not the battle of airplanes, submarines, and cannon, will finally determine the future of Europe.

When, in August, 1914, President Wilson said that the causes of the European war were obscure, he reflected the general sentiment of his countrymen—a sentiment common in England, not unknown even in France and Belgium, and almost universal in Russia. To most Americans the war appeared a mere outbreak of national rivalries. Even so well informed a student of current history as Mr. Frederic C. Howe could see in it nothing but the bitter fruit of commercial competition. The English responded to a double call: England's safety might be imperiled if Germany possessed Ostend and Calais; England's honor would be lost if she permitted Belgium's neutrality to be violated and France to be crushed. In France the majority wished to live in peace, but a large and eager minority were determined to revenge 1871 and recover Alsace and Lorraine. The motives in Italy, the Balkans, Poland, and Russia were still more confused and contradictory.

But in Germany there was no such confusion. Her cause was to her not obscure. She had been consciously and unconsciously preparing for the campaign ever since the defeat and exile of Napoleon I in 1815. The Austrian Emperor gave with naïve frankness to the professors of Padua the autocratic ideal of education. His words were: "I do not need savants, but sturdy subjects. It is your duty to educate the young to be such. He who serves me must learn what I order; he who cannot or who brings me new ideas can go, or I will dismiss him." Three-quarters of a century later the present Emperor of Germany repeated in a form less crude the same educational ideal:

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"'Students,' he said in his address before a meeting of instructors in December, 1890, 'ought to be taught that the French Revolution was an unmitigated crime against God and man, and they ought to be shown the fallacies of Socialism.' In his opinion, the object of education is to teach politics, to create obedient subjects and loyal supporters of the crown."[1]

Both in Austria and Germany the educational institutions have been framed to carry out these ideals. Professors suspected of favoring constitutional liberty have been expelled from the universities. Convinced or acquiescent teachers of autocracy have taken their places. The schools of Germany, in accordance with a system already explained in The Outlook, have been so organized as to train the youth to accept what they are taught and to obey what they are commanded, not to think nor to act for themselves. The result of three-quarters of a century of this educative influence is an autocratic nation. Autocracy has not been imposed on Germany by the sword, it has been wrought in Germany by the schoolmasters.

With the Hohenzollerns autocracy is a religious faith. In 1847 Frederick William IV declared that "no power on earth shall ever succeed in persuading me to exchange the natural relation between King and people for a conventional, constitutional one; neither now nor ever will I permit a written sheet, like a second providence, to thrust itself in between our God in heaven and this land, to displace the old sacred fidelity." It is true that later he accepted a constitution, but under compulsion; his policy changed, not his convictions. The present Emperor has as little respect for constitutional government as his ancestor. "We Hohenzollerns," he says, "take our crown from God alone, and to God alone we are responsible in the fulfillment of duty." But his autocracy is not merely personal, it is national. He is the God-appointed ruler of Prussia, Prussia is the divinely appointed ruler of Germany, and Germany's divine mission is to rule the world. This mission he defined very clearly in his dedication of a museum at Saalburg in October, 1900:

> With the first blow of my hammer I therefore dedicate this stone to the memory of Emperor Frederick III; with the second I dedicate it to German youth, to the generations now growing up who may learn here in this restored museum what a world empire means; with the third I dedicate it to our German Fatherland, to which I hope it will be granted, through the harmonious co-operation of princes and peoples, of its armies and its citizens, to become in the future as closely united, as powerful, and as authoritative as once the Roman world empire was, and that, just as in old times they said, "*Civis romanus sum*," hereafter, at some time in the future, they will say, "I am a German citizen."

In view of this authoritative statement, no room is left to doubt what Germany means by the phrase so often found in German political writings—"world empire."

This ambition of world empire sedulously cultivated by a carefully organized and directed system of education has taken possession of the German people; it has found expression in their philosophy, their literature, and their religion. A few years ago Professor Eucken visited America. His attractive personality charmed all who met him; his philosophy was welcomed as a rational and spiritual re-enforcement of Christian faith, and by none more heartily welcomed than by The Outlook. The autocratic spirit of the German people has been expressed by him since more subtly but scarcely less clearly than by his Emperor: "To us more than to any other nation is intrusted the true structure of human existence; as an intellectual people we have, irrespective of creeds, worked for soul depth in religion, for scientific thoroughness, for the creation of independent personality in our educational methods. . . . All this constitutes possessions of which mankind cannot be deprived; possessions the loss of which would make life and effort purposeless to mankind." Twenty-five years of residence in an American university did not succeed in modifying this spirit in Professor Hugo Münsterberg. Writing since the outbreak of the war, he said: "In the German view the state is not for the individuals, but the individuals for the state. . . . If this is the moral background, the power of the state must be symbolized in a personality which is entirely independent from the struggle of the individuals as such. A president is the product of parties; his real strength lies in the fact that the will of a majority has selected him and has empowered him. The whole meaning of a true king lies in the fact that his strength is not the result of the struggling wills of individuals. He symbolizes the state as a unit and not as a mere sum of individual persons."

That ode to Odin, "The German God," which The Outlook quoted in its issue of May 2, illustrates the presence of this autocratic spirit in German literature; the popularity of this ode indicates how widely diffused among the German people is this idolatry of power. Less dramatic, but not less significant, is another popular utterance quoted by Dr. J. P. Bang in his volume "Hurrah and Hallelujah:" "Formerly German thought was shut up in her corner, *but now the world shall have its coat cut according to German measure*, and as far as our swords flash and German blood flows, the circle of the earth shall come under the tutelage of German activity."

In other countries Socialism and imperialism are sworn foes, but in Germany imperialism has embodied in the state some of the theories and some of the practices of Socialism, and as a result there are leading Socialists in Germany, how many and how influential we do not know, who are ready to enter into partnership with imperialism in securing for Germany a world empire. A single quotation from a single Socialist must here suffice to make this clear. Herr Richard Calwer, a Socialist, writing in the "Sozialistische Monatshefte," says: "There is no industrial country in the world which has so large an increase of population as Germany. We see how the enterprise of all other powerful industrial lands—Japan last of all—appropriates the globe, and Social Democrats cannot expect German enterprise to stay quietly at home and renounce the aims of world policy. How is it expected that Socialism will be realized if this view prevails? Should not and must not capitalism first bring the world under subjection before a Socialistic organization of economics will be possible? If this question be answered affirmatively, it follows that capital—including German capital as well—must go forth and subdue the world with the means and weapons which are at its disposal." We commend this paragraph to the consideration of American Socialists.

Religion sometimes restrains, sometimes intensifies, a popular sentiment. In Germany religion has intensified this conviction that the German people are chosen by God to conquer and rule over a submissive world. "Germany," says the Rev. H. Francke, "is precisely—who would venture to deny it?—the representative of the highest morality, of the purest humanity, of the most chastened Christianity. He, therefore, who fights for its maintenance, its victory, fights for the highest blessings of humanity itself and for human progress. Its defeat, its decline, would mean a falling back to the worst barbarism." And we cannot forbear quoting, as an illustration of the spirit in which this conquest is to be carried on, the following paragraph from the "battle prayer" of another German pastor, Konsistorialrat Dietrich Vorwerk: "Thou who dwellest high above cherubim, seraphim, and Zeppelins in thy heaven, thou who art enthroned as a God of thunder in the midst of lightning from the clouds and lightning from sword and cannon, send thunder, lightning, hail, and tempest hurtling upon our enemy, bestow upon us his banners, hurl him down into the dark burial-pits."

If it is true, as Mr. Paul W. Brown in his article in this issue shows, that the Prussian Government of Germany misrepresents the German people, it is also true that for forty years it has been educating the people of Germany to accept Prussian standards and the Prussian ambition.

With this ambition for world empire, inspired by pulpits as a religion, inculcated by universities as a philosophy, disseminated by the press as a patriotic and pious sentiment, embodied in the army as a national duty, focused and directed by the Emperor as a minister of the Almighty, the campaign of 1914 against the liberty of Europe was initiated.

Nearly three years of war have passed, and Germany is not so near the realization of her ambition as she was at the end of three months. Though suffering much privation, she is not starving nor is she likely to be starved. Though with diminishing resources in men and materials, she has still reserves to call upon. But her ideal is shattered. She intended to crush France, and France is not crushed. She has learned from Gen-

[1] A. Lawrence Lowell's "Governments and Parties in Continental Europe," Vol. II, p. 53.

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eral Haig that the army of England is not insignificant. The revolts she anticipated in India, South Africa, and Egypt have not taken place. Her policy of terrorism has not daunted Belgium and Servia, but it has united Christendom against her. She was resolved to increase her colonies; the colonies she had are taken from her. Bernhardi told her she must choose "world empire or downfall." She has no prospect of world empire, and the Government is keeping up the waning resolution of her people by warning them of the peril of downfall. The contradictory reports which are permitted to reach us leave nothing certain except the existence of conflicting factions in her population. But of two things we may be reasonably sure: one, that the Government would gladly welcome peace could it be had with a restoration of Germany's position before the war; the other, that the popular demand for a constitutional government can no longer be contemptuously refused. The Emperor can only propose to postpone its consideration until after the war. Germany is no longer inspired by the vision of a re-established Roman Empire under a Hohenzollern dynasty. In one of Raemaekers's cartoons the artist graphically portrays the Emperor awakening from his night's sleep, with the sentence, "I had such a delightful dream that the whole thing was not true." If it were not true, the fact would be a delightful reality alike to Emperor and to people.

Meanwhile the ideals of democracy have grown clearer and the resolve of democratic nations stronger. There is among them neither dimness of vision nor infirmity of purpose. If both were truly reflected by the President of the United States in his statement of August, 1914, that the causes of the war are obscure and its issues do not concern us, it is equally certain that he reflected the present judgment of the civilized world in his statement of April 2 last, that "the world must be made safe for democracy. Its base must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty." England no longer fights merely for national safety and national honor; nor France for the protection of her borders and the recovery of her ravished territory; nor Italy for the completion of her incompleted national unity; nor Russia for a free pathway to the Mediterranean Sea. They are fighting—we quote the President again—"for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German people included; for the right of nations, great and small, and the privilege of men everywhere, to choose their way of life and of obedience." The United States has not been led nor forced into the war, but impelled into it by a tardily awakened consciousness that the foundation of the Republic—the inalienable right of every man to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—is assailed and endangered by Germany. The peoples of South America are with difficulty restrained from following our lead. Ten free nations are united in this campaign, not by their selfish interests or their national ambitions, but by their loyalty to a common ideal of justice and liberty.

In such a battle neutrality does not and cannot exist. "Now we know," says the London "Times Literary Supplement," "that our alliance is not merely one combination against another, nor outer Europe against Central Europe, but the enlistment of the will, the conscience, and the hopes of mankind against a criminal." The Church sees the meaning of Christianity with a clearness of vision never before experienced. It sees that paganism means that the poor, the ignorant, and the weak shall serve the rich, the wise, and the strong; that Christianity means that the rich, the wise, and the strong shall serve the poor, the ignorant, and the weak. In vain the preachers of pacifism cry, "Peace! Peace!" when there is no peace. Odin is no match for Christ. The greater part of the civilized world contributes its men and its money, and the whole civilized world its sympathy, to a campaign the significance of which Julia Ward Howe has interpreted in her "Battle Hymn of the Republic:"

> "In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea,
> With a glory in his bosom that transfigures you and me:
> As he died to make men holy, let us die to make men free,
> While God is marching on!"

The ultimate issue of such a campaign cannot be doubted by any one who has any faith in the power of human enthusiasms and spiritual ideals.

SUBTLE SEDITION

A fort which has been taken through treachery can at least be retaken by a limited expenditure of blood; but a slander upon the National spirit represents sedition as subtle as poisonous gas, and as irremediable in its injury to those who inhale it.

When such slander is circulated by irresponsible persons, it can be disregarded, for few take it in; but it ought not to pass unnoticed when it is disseminated by a journal of reputation. This is true whether such slander was premeditated or, as in the case we have in mind seems more probable, was the subconscious product of intellectual restlessness. The slander is as dangerous, whatever the intent.

In a discussion of the submarine the "New Republic" recently said: "Under the same circumstances Germany would use it again as she is using it now, and so would any nation, including the United States, which was being blockaded by a superior fleet and was in danger of being crushed as a result of the blockade."

If this statement is true, so far as our Nation is concerned, the United States has no excuse for having entered the European war. If this statement is true, Germany is right in declaring that military necessity knows and needs to know no moral law. If this statement is true, ravaged Belgium, ruined Rheims, and the martyred Lusitania should no longer be considered as the watchwords of aroused and menaced civilization, but only thought of as the cynical catch phrases of hypocritical National egotism.

Such a theory as this has in it the seeds of moral treason. Even the thoughtless betrayal of an American ideal may cause more lasting injury than the betrayal of a military secret.

"Subtle sedition" is the characterization rightly applied to this theory by the New York "Globe," and in vigorously combating it the "Globe" cites a chapter of American history which should be made familiar to every one tempted to doubt the moral character of the American spirit. The "Globe's" summary of this chapter of our history is so pertinent that we republish it:

> During the Civil War the Southern Confederacy was blockaded far more rigorously than is Germany, for there were no back entries as are provided by Holland, the Scandinavian countries, and Switzerland. The Southern people were not only deprived of a chance to buy military supplies, but to buy anything. No less than three thousand vessels watched every inch of Southern coast. We denied to neutrals the privilege of shipping to their own or neutral ports when in our opinion the cargoes, contraband or non-contraband, were destined for the Confederacy. . . .
>
> Suffering from the rigor of our blockade and in danger of being crushed to a degree that no one proposed to crush Germany, the Confederate Government sent out cruisers to prey on our commerce and to stop contraband coming to Northern ports. But two things that Germany has done the Confederacy in its extremity never did, or, so far as known, ever considered doing. It did not stake out huge areas of the ocean and declare that any neutral ship venturing therein was subject to instant destruction. It did not authorize its cruiser commanders to carry on the destruction even against their enemies, much less against neutrals, without regard to what happened to civilians.
>
> Captain Raphael Semmes, with the Alabama, went raging up and down the high seas. No ports were open to which he could send prizes and their crews, yet when he made a capture he provided for the safety of the captured. He was a sailor, not a pirate or a murderer. It was inconvenient for him to visit and search, and the crews he took on board impeded his movements. But he never thought of doing otherwise. He was an American, not a German of the Prussian school. There were things he would not do. He applied on the sea the same spirit displayed on land by General Longstreet in the peninsula campaign, when he forbade the mining of the road along which the Union armies were advancing for the reason that such mining was contrary to the then code of war.

As the New York "Globe" infers, the man who does not understand the difference between the record of Captain Semmes and the record of the man who sank the Lusitania has something fundamentally the matter with his Americanism.

Any one who attempts to justify our war against Germany

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and who at the same time expresses a belief that the United States would have used or could conceivably in the future use the submarine for the murder of women and children virtually places himself in the position of a man who declares: "I believe in denouncing immorality, but of course every woman has her price."

THE EARLY DAYS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

THE EFFECT ON THE PRESENT SITUATION

STAFF CORRESPONDENCE FROM GEORGE KENNAN

ON the night of March 12, 1917, when it became certain that the Russian revolutionary movement had succeeded, there came into existence in Petrograd, almost simultaneously, two independent and rival governments, viz. (1) an Executive Committee composed of twelve former members of the Duma, mostly Constitutional Democrats, Octobrists, or Progressives; and (2) a Workmen's Council made up of Socialist leaders and artisans from the Petrograd factories. The first government was chosen by the leaders of the Imperial Duma (which was not then in session), and it represented, in the main, the moderate liberals of the Progressive *bloc*. The second government, which was a revival of the old Workmen's Council of 1905–6, consisted at first of a comparatively small body of men, who represented almost exclusively the political parties of the Extreme Left, viz., the Socialists, the Social Revolutionists, and the Labor Group. So far as character, education, and knowledge were concerned, the Executive Committee of the Duma was far superior to the Workmen's Council. It had quite as much patriotism as the latter, and far more prudence, wisdom, and familiarity with public affairs. Nearly all of its members had served for years on important Duma committees, and by virtue of long study and experience had acquired a thorough knowledge of economic and administrative problems. The Workmen's Council, on the other hand, consisted mainly of idealists, Socialistic theorists, pacifists, and plain cranks, who had had little practical experience in the art of government, and who held generally the visionary ideas of the Russian proletariat.

The two rival governments began at once the work of organization. The Executive Committee appointed a Ministry of very able men, which was described by Baron Rosen (formerly Russian Ambassador at Washington) as "the flower of the nation—the greatest and most distinguished men in every respect." All of these men were Constitutional Democrats, Octobrists, or Progressives, except the Moderate Socialist Kerenski, who was taken in partly to secure the support of his followers and partly to get the benefit of his acknowledged ability and influence.

The first step of the Workmen's Council was to extend its membership and consolidate its power—particularly in the army. Upon the plea that a strong democratic and popular organization was necessary as a means of guarding against a counter-revolution, it called upon all soldiers and workmen for support. The garrison and factories of Petrograd responded promptly, and in less than a fortnight the membership of the Council increased from a few score—or perhaps a few hundred—to more than two thousand, with an Executive Committee of forty-five. Nobody knew who they were, or what factories and regiments they represented; but they assumed supreme authority, regardless of the Provisional Government, and proceeded to issue "orders" as if they were a newly elected Duma empowered to speak and act for the whole nation.[1] At the same time they adopted shrewd and practical measures to strengthen their hold on the army and to facilitate a Socialistic propaganda among the soldiers both in Petrograd and at the front. They began at once to publish their own journal ("Bulletin of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council"), and virtually forbade the military authorities to prevent the circulation of it among the troops.

In this journal they soon issued a series of "orders" directing all soldiers of the Petrograd Military District to form company, battalion, and regimental committees, which were to report to the Council and act in its name. Soldiers were instructed that they might obey their officers in matters of military routine, but that in all social and political matters they were to take orders from the Council of Delegates. They were permitted, at first, to elect their own officers; but in a later order they were told that, while elections already made were confirmed, the question whether the elective system should be made permanent or not had been referred to a special committee for decision. Meanwhile the soldiers should have the right to protest to the Council against the appointment of any particular officer who might be objectionable to them. Soldiers were instructed to address their officers as "Mr." instead of "Your High Nobility," and officers were forbidden to use the pronoun "thou" in speaking to soldiers. The saluting of officers by soldiers was left optional. Officers were to refer to their men simply as "soldiers," not as "the lower rank," and all military commands and responses, such as "Attention!" (literally "Be quiet!"), "Just so," "I can't know," "We are glad to bestir ourselves," and "We wish you health," were strictly prohibited. Soldiers were to be freed from social restrictions of every kind, and were to have the right to become members of any club, union, society, or other organization having political aims, and to take part in its proceedings. In short, the army was to be "democratized" by making the soldier as good as the officer, if not better, and by giving him all the rights of a professional politician.

These various orders and instructions naturally disturbed the pre-existing relations between officers and men, broke down discipline, and more or less demoralized a large part of the army. But this was not the worst of the usurpation of military authority by the Council of Delegates. Both with and without the Council's sanction, hundreds of demagogues and political orators hurried to the front and began to harangue the soldiers on various social, political, and military questions, particularly on desirable terms of peace. This added, of course, to the demoralization, and turned almost every regiment into a political debating society. Generals Brusiloff, Korniloff, and Gurko could not stand this, and all resigned.[1] Even General Alexeief, the Commander-in-Chief, urged that if representatives were to be sent to the front by the Council of Delegates to address the soldiers on political matters, they should at least be furnished with credentials, and should report to him before organizing meetings. Otherwise it would be impossible to keep out spies and *provocateurs*. To these remonstrances and requests little attention was paid, and Socialistic agitators, inspired perhaps by Germany, were even allowed to go so far as to tell the soldiers that the war was being carried on for the benefit of British and French capitalists.

Such were the first results of the work done in the army by the Council of Delegates. That body has since become sobered a little, and now talks about the importance of "re-establishing discipline;" but if it had not broken down discipline in the first place discipline would not now have to be re-established.

The influence of the Council in the Petrograd factories was

[1] Before the end of March Professor Zakharof, of the Petrograd University, published a letter in the "Den" (Day) saying that the citizens of Russia would like to know who are the members of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council that is issuing "orders" to the army and the people. What factories and regiments do they represent? What educational qualifications have they? To what political party or parties do they belong? Who is their president and who constitute their Executive Committee? Up to the present time, not only the people of Russia, but even the citizens of Petrograd, are in profound ignorance of the Council's personnel.

[1] Brusiloff and Gurko afterward withdrew their resignations when the Coalition Ministry was formed, and when Kerenski, the new Minister of War, announced his determination to enforce "iron discipline." General Korniloff, however, the Commandant of the Petrograd garrison, refused to reconsider. He was not willing, apparently, to take orders from Socialists, common soldiers, and ignorant workmen.

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quite as strong and quite as disastrous as in the army. It was even easier to organize the workmen than the soldiers, and the Council soon got them thoroughly in hand. As soon as the turmoil of the revolution subsided a little they were instructed that they might go to work, but that they must "hold themselves in readiness to drop their employment at the first signal." This, apparently, was a warning to the Provisional Government that if it disputed or resisted the authority of the Council all the munition factories would be tied up. Before the first of April the Council had acquired almost complete control of the factory operatives, as well as of the garrison troops, and was in a position to say to the Provisional Ministry: "If you don't make terms with us and adopt our policy, we'll swing the whole garrison against you and close all the munition factories." This threat, which might possibly bring about civil war, was the club that the Council used to force the Provisional Government into submission. Meanwhile large numbers of the factory workers, feeling that they, or their representatives, were the real Government, became so unruly and insubordinate, and made such impossible demands of all kinds, that both the Manufacturers' Association and the Union of Engineers appealed to the Council to harmonize dissensions in order to avert what threatened to be a national catastrophe. The breakdown of discipline in the munition factories was almost as serious as that in the army.

Having made its position almost impregnable by gaining control of the troops and workmen of Petrograd, the Council of Delegates invaded another field of activity by establishing a new press censorship. Certain newspapers, among them the "Zemshchina," "Golos Russie," "Kolokol," "Groza," and "Russkoe Znamya," desired to resume publication after the revolution, but were not allowed to do so. All were permanently suppressed by the Council's order. The "Novoe Vremya," one of the best-known journals in Russia, was temporarily suspended merely because it had resumed publication without the Council's permission. Most of these journals, it is true, had been reactionary in tendency before the revolution, and their suppression might have been expedient or necessary as a political measure; but it was none the less a usurpation of the power and authority of the Provisional Government. The repression, moreover, was one-sided. The Council closed up the reactionary papers, but it allowed "Pravda," the organ of the extreme Socialists, to advocate openly the overthrow of the Provisional Government and the substitution for it of "a dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry." The Council wanted free speech for the extreme party of the Left and a gag for the extreme party of the Right. The only persons who openly protested against this re-establishment of an arbitrary censorship were the Constitutional Democrats, whose Central Committee denounced it as "a violation of the right of free speech, which is a fundamental principle of democracy."

It is not my purpose—and I should not have space enough if it were my purpose—to enumerate all the acts by which the Council of Delegates showed not only its disposition but its power to control and dominate the Provisional Government. All that I aim to do here is to show how, in the first weeks after the overthrow of the autocracy, the Council *got* its power, and how it used that power to extort from the Ministry one compromise or concession after another, until it established its own Department of Foreign Affairs, eliminated Milyukov and Guchkoff, reorganized the Cabinet by putting in five Socialists, and finally forced virtual recognition of its political dogma that Russia must make peace without annexations or indemnities.

This leads up to the question: Why did the Duma Executive Committee and the original Ministry yield to the Council of Delegates whenever opinions clashed and whenever there was an opportunity for a decisive trial of strength? Apparently they did not dare to face the risk of civil war in the capital, where, as it seemed to them, the Council of Delegates had an overwhelming predominance of brute force.

In an article entitled "Russia's Dual Government," published in The Outlook of May 23, I ventured to express the opinion that the leaders of the Progressive *bloc* made a serious mistake in not keeping the Duma in continuous session, and then, with that body at their back, challenging the supremacy of the Council at the very beginning. All the evidence seems to show that if the whole Duma had fought the Council of Delegates at the outset it would have had the active support of four-fifths of the nation, including practically all of the army outside of the Petrograd garrison, and would have established its supremacy without civil war. But the men who organized the Provisional Government were apparently so afraid of what the soldiers and workmen might do in Petrograd that they lost their grip and allowed themselves to be intimidated, faced down, and finally dominated by a group of Socialists, pacifists, iconoclasts, and cranks, who had no qualifications for government or leadership except audacity and nerve. All the misfortunes that have come to Russia in the last two months—dissension everywhere, break-up of discipline and fighting efficiency in the army, the arrest of General Kuropatkin, the removal of the Grand Duke Nicholas as Viceroy of the Caucasus and Commander-in-Chief in Asia Minor, the discouragement of generals like Brusiloff, Gurko, Korniloff, and Shcherbatoff, disorder in the munition factories and agrarian disturbances in the provinces—all are due to the Socialistic theories and visionary aims of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council, by which the Provisional Government for more than two months has been influenced, dominated, or controlled.

In the just-published report of Dr. Christian L. Lange, of Norway, to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, two reasons are given for not keeping the Duma in continuous session as a legislative body representing the whole nation. Dr. Lange says that the Duma was allowed to go out of existence (1) because there was a doubt whether it did not legally become extinct with the overthrow of the system of government of which it had formed a part; and (2) because it was too reactionary a body to co-operate harmoniously with the democratic forces. (New York "Times," May 27, Section 9.)

Dr. Lange was in Petrograd in March and talked with the Duma leaders, so I presume this explanation is the correct one; but I don't think either reason has great force. If the Duma legally went out of existence with the overthrow of the system of government of which it formed a part, then every one of its members lost all his authority as a representative of the people and became merely a private citizen like any other private citizen. In that case, what right had a few private citizens who had lost their representative authority to elect an Executive Committee and set up a Provisional Government? Such action by the *whole* Duma—whether (as a juridical question) it was or was not an existent body—would have had more show of reason and legality than the seizure of power by a group of private citizens who had never been anything more than a *part* of the Duma. The whole procedure was extra-legal, anyway, and it would have been better for the entire Duma to continue its existence, even illegally by a *coup d'état*, than for a fraction of it to seize power in its name, but without any national mandate. Furthermore, President Rodzianko issued a proclamation in the name of the *whole* Duma to the army and the people more than a week after the Duma, by this hypothesis, had become extinct. The Grand Duke Nicholas, too, on the same day recognized the whole Duma as existent, and said that it "represents the entire Russian people." I don't think that any question as to the legal existence of the Duma ever would have been raised outside of the Council of Delegates, which could not represent the nation, and never even pretended to do so.

In the second place, I don't believe that the Duma as a whole was, as a matter of fact, too reactionary to co-operate harmoniously with the Russian people. It had co-operated harmoniously with them before the revolution; it had been their voice and their bulwark. What reason was there to suppose that they would suddenly lose confidence in it and regard it as too reactionary? That it was too prudent and sagacious to co-operate harmoniously with the Socialistic theorists of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council is doubtless true; but that was to its credit.

In an article on "The Menace of the Russian Workmen's Council," published in The Outlook of May 30, I gave a few of the assurances of support which the Provisional Government received from the army and the people soon after its organization. Among them were literally thousands of telegrams and letters from regiments, divisions, corps, and whole armies; from zemstvos, boards of trade, and assemblies of nobles; from peas-

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ant communes, educational institutions, and co-operative societies; and from civil organizations of all kinds in all parts of the country. The officers and soldiers of the First Infantry Division gathered up all their medals, decorations, and crosses of honor, won by bravery in battle, and sent them in a mass to the Provisional Government as evidences of their recognition of its authority and their loyal devotion to it.

And yet, in spite of all this support from the country at large, the Duma Executive Committee and the Provisional Government hesitated to begin a fight with the Council of Delegates merely because that organization had, or seemed to have, an overwhelming preponderance of brute force at the seat of government.

In a speech made by General Alexeief four or five days ago, a speech for which the Council of Delegates now threatens to remove him, he asked: "Where is that strong power which the country desires? Where is that mighty power which would compel each citizen to perform honorably his duty to his country?"

The answer must be: There is no such power, but there might be if the Provisional Government, with the whole Duma at its back, had refused two months ago to submit to the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council, had appealed to the whole army and the whole nation for support, and had firmly established its supremacy by effective force. The Socialistic Government of free Russia may not be weaker than the bureaucratic Government of autocratic Russia; but it certainly is no stronger, because it is paying more attention to impracticable schemes of social and military reorganization and equally impracticable schemes for getting peace without victory than it is to the far more important business of winning victory as a means of securing peace.

New York, May 29, 1917.

MR. BALFOUR'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

The address which we publish here in part, delivered on May 24 before the National Press Club at Washington by the chief of the British Mission to America, Arthur J. Balfour, was, in fact, an address to the people of America. It cannot be too widely read. Mr. Balfour's confidence in America's determination to fight resolutely and to the end for the just cause it has now championed must not meet with disappointment. His praise of what has already been done here was cordial, and certainly his friendship toward us and his belief in our strength and good will prompted his appreciation and his hopefulness. It is our part to better the beginnings so far made and to add new efficiency and energy daily.—THE EDITORS.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Press Club:

GENTLEMEN, I came to the United States conscious, of course, of the importance of the mission with which I have been intrusted by my Government; conscious, as your President has said this afternoon, that the mission, from the very nature of the case, was one of the most important in which either of our two countries has ever concerned itself; conscious that the very condition of the world in which we lived gave weight and importance to every action, to every word, and to every report of every word, which might take place during its existence. . . .

The kindness with which we were received, the warmth of the welcome which reached us from all parts of the country, soon made it plain that the strictly and narrowly business side of our mission was not the only one which was important at the present juncture. After all, the co-operation of two great countries is not merely the question of working through the instrumentality of experts, the sending of men here or there, the proper distribution of your naval forces, the method by which the financial co-operation can best be secured, or all the other endless questions which have come up for daily discussion. Those are all-important. They do not stand alone. Something more than that, if a mission be fortunate, may come of its work, something which has not got to do with naval, military, or financial details, but which, in the phrase—I think it is of Burke—comes home to the feelings and bosoms of men. There is something in a sympathetic and mutual comprehension; there is something the worth of which cannot indeed be estimated merely by enumerating army corps or millions or billions of dollars, the cataloguing of destroyers, but which is represented by something different, more spiritual, as important; a sympathy of soul between two great and free peoples, who are not only engaged on a common task, but are conscious of their mutual co-operation. . . .

You, and those with whom you work, have, after all, supplied the sensory nerves which permeate the whole country from end to end and make what happens in Washington or New York, or wherever it may be, the common property of the whole American people. It is a colossal power. It is a power whose magnitude it is very difficult—it is impossible, I think—to overestimate. It is a power very easily abused. It is a power which those who possess it have to be cautious as to whether in the ordinary work of what, after all, has a business side, and purely a business side, whether they may not commit some injury to the public weal which they certainly never contemplated when they did it, and for which, perhaps, they might rarely regard themselves as directly responsible.

Gentlemen, you have shown during the month's experience which I have had of your labors, shown that the American press is animated by the highest patriotic principles, that it is incapable, or has shown itself, so far as I am concerned, as incapable, of misrepresenting or perverting in the smallest particular anything which I may have said or done. . . .

I came with high hopes to Washington. Those hopes have been far surpassed by the reality. . . .

There are those who have said that the preparations made by the United States are proceeding slowly and haltingly, and that a country which has been in the war for some forty days ought to have done far more than has actually been accomplished. For my own part, I think those who speak in accents like these know very little of the actual way in which public life is and must be carried on in free countries. At the beginning of the forty days of which I speak no preparations had been made; the country was anxiously, indeed, watching the events; it had not begun to make any of the preparations necessary for taking part in a gigantic struggle.

I think that what has been performed in those forty days is most remarkable. It is quite true that the action of the Executive Government may be delayed, and has been delayed, by the fact that certain measures placed before Congress took some time to pass; some of them have not yet passed. But I have lived with representative assemblies all my life, and who is it that supposes that representative assemblies are going to make great and new departures in public policy solely at the waving of a wand? Such expectations are vain. It is useless to entertain them, and, for my own part, I am quite confident—I perhaps feel more confident than it seems to me one who has had no personal experience of American politics should feel—but, speaking for myself, I feel quite confident that Congress will not refuse to the President and the Government of the country all powers, great as they are, which are absolutely necessary if the war is to be successfully pursued. I am not only persuaded that it will give those powers, but I am persuaded that when these powers are given they will be used to the utmost with as little delay as the imperfection of human institutions and of human beings allows to throw the great, and, I believe, the decisive weight of America to the full extent into the great contest.

That is my belief. In that belief I shall leave these shores. In that belief I shall make my report to the allied Governments, so far as I can reach them on the other side of the Atlantic, and in that belief I look forward with a cheerful confidence to days which will undoubtedly be days of trial and difficulty, but beyond which we can surely see the dawn of a happier day, coming not merely to the kindred communities to which we belong, but to all mankind and all nations which love liberty and pursue righteousness.

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A GOVERNMENT THAT MISREPRESENTS

BY PAUL WINTHROP BROWN

Author of the article "The Two Germanys" in The Outlook for March 28, 1917; and founder and editor of "The West at Work," a journal of finance, transportation, and commerce. In connection with this article we refer our readers to the editorial, "Unseen Forces in the World War," on page 214

THE President of the United States, in his address to Congress requesting recognition of a state of war with Germany, sharply distinguished between the German Government and the German people. How far may this distinction—of which we have all heard much—be justified? How far is it mere polite and politic rhetoric for the consumption of Americans of German blood, and how far the recognition of insistent fact?

The question is one of immense practical importance. We Americans are fighting for the vindication of a principle. It is not "a matter of beef and pudding" with us. We fight as trustees of the common interests of mankind. It is of immense importance that we make sure whether we are fighting a predatory and lawless Government only or such a Government backed by a predatory and lawless people. It is of immense importance that we know whether the Imperial German Government denies reasonable freedom only to the people of Lille and Louvain and Rheims, or to those of Berlin and Dresden and Nuremberg as well. It is of immense importance that we know whether the German Government's policies represent a fair average of German opinion and give effect, in the main, to German popular will, or whether they are forced down the unwilling throats of millions of Germans by the action of a class intrenched behind the legal, social, and economic fortifications of privilege. Is the policy of frightfulness fairly representative of the soul and mind of Germany, or is it the result of the domination of a class whose leaders have checked free thought and stifled free speech.

We have an infallible means of answering this question. No Government can conceal its essential nature; that is inevitably revealed in the structure and the every-day operation of its political machinery.

The structure and working of German governmental machinery—to anticipate in a word the outcome of our examination—prove that German officialdom is to-day only continuing in the international field a fight it has been waging for more than a century at home. They prove that the Imperial Government of Germany is as inimical to popular freedom in Cologne and Leipsic as in Antwerp and Brussels. They prove that the Government of the Kingdom of Prussia misrepresents the progressive people of Prussia—who are numbered by millions—flagrantly and hopelessly.

One preliminary question: Why has not all this been understood among us? Why has not the intelligent sympathy of the American people been extended to the progressive element in Germany, as, in an earlier day, it was extended to the seekers for liberty in Hungary?

The first reason is that we have not paused to inquire into the structure of the German Government. In this country the people are the Government and the Government is the people. Whatever we disapprove or dislike in our governmental machinery we can change. We have taken it easily for granted that in every country with a Constitution the same thing was true, and that if German institutions were autocratic and illiberal, it was because the German people willed it so.

The second reason is a peculiar one. We in America have failed sadly in the government of cities—a field in which the Germans have been markedly successful. When an American publicist or economist looked at Germany, the thing that loomed largest in his vision was the German city—clean, scientifically planned, slumless, economically managed. And he has been so busy trying to fathom the secret of this success and communicate it to his fellow-citizens that he has had little disposition to inquire how far men were free in Germany, and how far German governmental forces reflected popular thought and will.

Germany's imposing national programme of social welfare has had a like effect on the imagination of the American critic. Between the Vosges and the Niemen the foreign observer finds a land in which the Government stands in the relation of a parent to the citizen. Here are sickness insurance, old-age insurance, accident insurance, all conducted by the Empire. Here are state-owned mines and forests, and even factories—and they pay. Here are little poverty and no graft. So we have studied the social institutions of Germany much, and her political institutions little or none at all.

It is important, at this point, that we keep clearly in mind the precise thing the German Government has failed to do. It has not failed to tax justly and effectively, to administer its revenues economically, to keep its credit good, to keep order in city and in countryside, to safeguard the life and health of the citizen in a hundred ways, to train the hand and mind of the growing boy and girl, to stand between the commercial world and panics, between the industrial world and periods of depression. All these things it has done as no government ever did them before. But it has failed to manage its foreign relations with what our Declaration of Independence calls "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind." In its international policy it has cut square across the popular sense of right and justice the world over. It has disregarded and trampled upon ideals of fair dealing and of international good faith which are common, not only to New York and Paris and London and Petrograd, but also to Tokyo and Lisbon, to Rio de Janeiro and Havana, to Nicaragua and Peking. For the German Government the restraints of civilization are national only. Internationally German policy is barbarism—a barbarism made trebly dangerous by Germany's facile command of all the technical resources of civilization. Civilization's ethics stops at the frontier; beyond that line the apparatus of civilization merely supplies the armament of barbarism.

But this failure abroad is only the consequence of a failure at home, and it is this failure which it is the purpose of this article to set forth. German government is intended by the governing class to be for the people, but it is neither of the people nor by the people. It is imposed upon them from above. In so far as it misrepresents them they are powerless to change it short of revolution. In the things in which it resembles the democratic institutions of modern states it is a ghastly farce. The German citizen is shackled to the chariot-wheel of autocracy—an autocracy wonderfully efficient and honestly striving to govern him so capably that he may feel no desire to govern himself, but no whit less an autocracy for this.

At first glance the Imperial German Government appears much like our own. There are two houses in the Legislature—the Bundesrath and the Reichstag—and the upper house represents the separate states of the German Empire, while the lower house represents the people and is chosen by universal manhood suffrage—all of which sounds familiar. But not too fast. The upper house—with the exception of the three delegates chosen by the three free cities of the Empire—is selected, not by the people of the twenty-five German states, but wholly by the hereditary princes. Its representation of the states is a pleasant fiction for overseas consumption; what it really represents is the interests, opinions, and prejudices of twenty-two German monarchs. It is one of the most complete and impregnable bulwarks of privilege in the world. It has amazing powers. In theory, legislation may originate in either house; in practice, the right of initiating legislation is exercised almost exclusively by the Prince-appointed upper house. This body may, with the consent of the Kaiser, dissolve the lower house at will. Acts passed by it and then passed by the lower house—the Reichstag—must be returned to it for final approval. Its power overshadows both ends of the legislative road.

We are now ready to look at the lower house, with its membership elected by universal manhood suffrage. It is a vastly different thing from the powerful lower houses of the American Congress and the British Parliament. Most of the appropriation bills originate in the upper house. The Reichstag votes no salary or civil list for the Kaiser, whose income comes from the Prussian—not the Imperial—Legislature, and from his enormous estates, since he is the largest landowner in the realm. The Reichstag has no control over the Imperial Ministers, as

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has the English House of Commons; they are appointed and removed by the Kaiser, without reference to the Reichstag's approval or disapproval. No wonder a German writer on political science says, "Strictly speaking, it is the Bundesrath that makes law, with merely the assent of the Reichstag."

But these facts, significant as they are, do not give the full measure of the helplessness of the German people with respect to Imperial legislation. The universal suffrage is itself a farce. When the Constitution was made in 1871, the Empire was fairly divided up into districts of equal population; but the fathers of the German Constitution forgot to provide any machinery for redistricting. Now the great growth in Germany's population has been in the cities, which are the hotbeds of German liberalism, while the country districts are the abiding-places of reaction. So the growth of the Empire has seen the parliamentary representation of the liberal element in the electorate grow less and less, while that of the reactionary element grew more and more. How far the Reichstag comes from being a body fairly representative of the German electorate may be judged by the fact that in the famous election of 1912—the election which, transforming a Government majority of 89 into an Opposition majority of 14, is considered a turning-point in the relation of the German radical movement to the Government—the votes of the radicals counted for just one-half as much as they should; the Social Democrats cast 39 per cent of the vote and elected 19 per cent of the members. In particular districts the situation is much worse; there have been years in which 170,000 voters in certain country districts elected exactly as many members of the Reichstag as 1,950,000 in certain cities—a trifle of eleven and one-half times as much representation, man for man. In order to fashion an American parallel to the situation of the Reichstag, let us picture the House of Representatives shorn of its power of exclusive initiation of appropriation bills, compelled to return to the Senate for final amendment and approval measures originating in that body which it, in turn, has passed, and subject to dissolution by the Senate. Then, to complete the picture, imagine a Senate 29 per cent of whose members are appointed by the irremovable Executive, the rest of whose membership represents, not the electorate, but the privileged order to which the Executive belongs, and the impregnable power of the autocracy over the German Empire may be partially conceived.

At this point the American is moved to inquire why the German people do not arise in their might and amend the German Constitution. For the very good and sufficient reason that the makers of it so devised it that it can never be amended against the will of the King of Prussia, who is *ex officio* Emperor. Proposed amendments must be approved by the Bundesrath or they are lost. In that body of 58 members, 14 adverse votes are enough to defeat an amendment, and 17 members are appointed by the Kaiser as King of Prussia. There is no way in which the German people can liberalize the Imperial Constitution short of revolution. It is a Government by, of, and for the princes, with the power to prevent even the smallest change in its framework lodged in the greatest Prince of them all, who is the sole and irresponsible Executive.

The plight of the German people with respect to the Imperial Government is bad enough, but we must go further fully to understand the hopelessness of the attempt to make government in Germany reflect the will of the progressive people of Germany. The Imperial Government, like our own Federal fabric, is a government of limited powers, for its constituent states —leaving out Alsace-Lorraine—were "going concerns," each with its own rulers, bureaucracy, fiscal system, lawmakers, courts, etc., when the Empire came into being. In order to understand fully the mind of the ruling class in Germany with respethe to the popular will we must look at the governmental machinery of Prussia, whose King is *ex officio* German Emperor, whose valor created the Empire, and whose borders contain 40,000,000 of Germany's 65,000,000 people.

The King of Prussia is head of the army and of the Church as well. (There is no usurpation of function in the occasional appearances of William II in the pulpit.) He makes or authorizes all executive appointments. He nominates almost all the members of the upper house of the national Legislature. He possesses "the whole and undivided power of the state in all its plenitude." The Constitution of Prussia contains an elaborate Bill of Rights, but the utter failure to provide any machinery to protect the citizen in the exercise of these rights reduces the constitutional expression of them to mere pious wishes. The popular house of the Prussian Legislature is the citadel of autocracy and class privilege. (It should not be forgotten, in what follows, that this is the body which, with the King-appointed upper house, votes the King's civil list, which amounts to almost $4,000,000 annually.) To an American ear no condemnation of the system of indirect class voting by which its members are selected can be so effective as a simple account of its main features.

In Prussia no voter votes for a legislator directly; he votes for electors, who meet and choose the legislators.

But this matter of indirect election is merely the beginning of the Prussian scheme of buttressing class government by more or less convincing imitations of popular institutions. In preparing for an election the districts are divided into sub-districts, and the voters listed in the order of the amount of direct taxes paid by each, beginning with the largest. Then the list is so divided that each third of it contains the names of those who pay one-third of the taxes for the district. One-third of the electors of the district are chosen by the first class, one-third by the second, and one-third by the third. The electors so chosen in each sub-district then meet and choose, by absolute majority, the representative for the district. Under this arrangement, one man—paying one-third of the taxes—chooses one-third of the electors in more than 2,200 Prussian sub-districts; in 1,700 others the first class consists of two taxpayers; in the whole Kingdom in 1907 it was estimated that three per cent of the voters elected one-third of the electors, less than ten per cent one-third more, and more than eighty-seven per cent the remaining third. In short, the vote of the third-class man had less than one-eighth the weight of that of the second-class taxpayer, and a trifle more than one-thirtieth that of the taxpayer of the first class. The experienced political worker will see at a glance that these figures do not represent the real preponderance of the first-class voter, since the electors appointed by one or two men naturally act as a unit in the district electoral assembly, and combinations among the henchmen of large taxpayers are inevitable. In the Prussian elections of 1903, 324,000 Conservative voters elected 143 legislators; 314,000 Social Democratic voters did not elect a single one. A distinguished American jurist is said to have defined equity as "an unequal distribution of injustice." Could he have had in mind the equity of the Prussian electoral system?

This brief sketch of German absolutism in the realm of government nominally reserved to the people would be incomplete without mention of the fact that the poor rags and tatters of self-government which the Germans can boast have been granted by the jealous lords of privilege only after long and shameful disregard of royal promises. The original draft of the Federal Act of 1815 pledged every member of the German Confederation to grant a constitution to its people within a year. The sovereigns of Austria and Prussia substituted for this specific promise a general one. Eleven German states granted constitutions within the next five years; but in Prussia the promise was fulfilled only in 1850—after thirty-five years. To-day promises of constitutional change fill the ears of the Prussians; they have a familiar sound.

The American citizen who stands ready to inveigh against the progressive people of Germany for their patient tolerance of the burdens and wrongs of autocracy would do well to remember the following capital facts:

There has always been organized protest against autocracy in Germany; in 1912 the Social Democrats, originally an organization of Marxian Socialists, now an opportunistic body of progressive citizens less than a fourth of whom are members of the Socialist organization, were the largest party in the Reichstag, having twenty more votes than their nearest rivals, the Centrists.

The forces of progress were weakened for many years by emigration from Germany of the most enterprising and the most discontented of the country's young men. The millions who came to the United States between the beginning of the European revolutionary movement of the forties and the phe-

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nomenal rise of modern German industrialism were drawn from just the element of the population which counts for most in times of social change; this Nation profited at Germany's expense.

German autocracy has always been kindly in its spirit and serious in its interpretation of its responsibility for the popular welfare. Its positive achievements in the realm of what is loosely known as social reform put most democracies to shame. A great army of forward-looking men in Germany have been unable to spare time and strength for agitation for a fuller recognition of human rights in the fundamental fabric of German government because the state has laid on them the burden of improving schools, constructing hospitals, bettering housing conditions, developing railways, or any one of a hundred other activities for the general good.

Stronger than all these considerations is the inexorable fact that the German progressives have to fight an intrenched enemy with bare hands; that a people with a reverence for law and order as deep as that of the Romans of the old school has had no choice of weapons in its fight for fuller freedom except moral suasion on the one hand and revolution on the other. The waves of popular protest against privilege in Germany have been recurrent, like the waves of the sea, but they have beaten against the adamantine wall of a constitutional fabric which lodges the power of stifling every attempt at change in the hands of the class which has everything to gain by maintaining the *status quo*.

Who are we that we should launch a wholesale indictment against the German people because of the hoary injustices and wrongs embedded in the fabrics of the German Imperial and state Governments? Let us remember Democratic apologies for Tammany, and Republican ditto for the domination of the House of Representatives by the Speaker's autocracy; let us call to mind the impassioned defense by good men of machine bosses when the latter, in Boss Tweed's expressive phrase, have "pandered a little to the moral sentiment of the community;" let us recall how slow we have been to remedy obvious defects in our own constitutional machinery, with the way plain and clear before us; yes, and let us remember, with shame of face, how many such defects remain still uncured! Then, as we contemplate the steady growth in numbers and power of German liberalism, coming up in the very teeth of the winds of reaction, braving social ostracism, material loss, and physical restraint, we shall see the German Government for what it is—a shackle, not a garment. It does not express the German people, it hampers them. It expresses the privileged class, which has been so solicitous for the material well-being of the German people, and so rigidly suppressive of every movement toward larger personal and political liberty. German frightfulness—wreaked at sea, on the field of battle, and in conquered lands the forced labor of whose wretched civilian inhabitants is worse than slavery—gives us but one side of the picture of modern Germany. Correlated with this is German liberalism—shackled, beaten down, deprived of its rights by constitutional bars erected by the hands of princes and unremovable save by their consent or by revolution, but ever hoping, ever working, ever struggling toward a larger freedom, a fuller measure of liberty. Between the two stands a Government whose military policy represents all that is worst in autocracy, while it misrepresents all that is highest and best in the political aspirations of a great people.

TRIBUTE

BY LAURA F. BEALL

He who would touch our thoughts to nobleness
Need crave no artistry of words. Instead,
Voicing a glory flung too high for praise,
Let him say, "France"—and all is said.

OUR FLYING CORPS

BY LAURENCE LA T. DRIGGS

OUR flying corps is now in the process of formation. Love of sport appeals powerfully to the lad naturally endowed with the peculiar qualities of a born flyer. No other calling upon earth exacts stricter fitness, education, and responsibility.

Rivaling the romance and glory of the tales in Greek mythology, these free lances of the air go flying forth to daily adventure, awakening anew the chivalrous pride of old-time combat. Embodying this modern wonder of science, alive with the instinct of instant obedience to sensitive human mind, the whir of the airplane in the limitless sky never fails to attract the interest and admiration of the world below—be it friend or foe.

Pluck, reliability, intuition, generalship, a magnificent nonchalance imposed upon hair-trigger inspiration and decision, reckless caution, tireless muscles, and insatiable ardor are words that combine to portray the ideal hero of our flying corps.

Flying being still in its infancy, our military scout of twenty, indifferent to the laws of gravity as well as the relentlessness of high velocity shells, engaged in the spectacular and nerve-racking pursuit of daily dodging death, might reasonably be considered as doing his bit in mastering only the art of flight. Surely nothing further should be demanded of him.

Yet even when flying has become second nature and the bugbear of "bad landings" has been buried, the war-plane pilot has reached only the first grade in his education.

For the enemy flyer of twenty has in the meantime learned wireless telegraphy. Thus he has attained the military advantage of reducing the risk to one man instead of two in his machine, and the flying advantage of materially lowering the weight his plane must carry. Superiority in the air means, primarily, the quicker maneuvering machine. Therefore our military scout must dismiss his wireless operator and learn this business himself.

So when the enemy discards his gunner passenger and appears alone with a rapid-fire gun of light weight and ample destructiveness, our pilot must follow suit. He must study gun mounting and target shooting, adding another accomplishment to his mental equipment. Superiority in the air means, secondarily, greater destructiveness. Our pilot must therefore procure a better gun, better mounted, and capable of faster shooting and of greater destructive powers, to maintain his supremacy of the air.

Camera photography must then be learned. Frequent experiments with automatic cameras so carried as to require the least attention from the already overburdened pilot teach him the nicer details of this important art. Practice in artillery spotting—watching the fall of shells into an enemy position, signaling back the errors in range and direction—is another operation required of the pilot. Time and diligence and frequent opportunities must be devoted to this new branch of military science to enable the air scout to be of value to his command.

Bomb-dropping on a target from various elevations and at different speeds of flight, in varying currents of wind and with the hazardous conditions of warfare limiting his prearranged plans,

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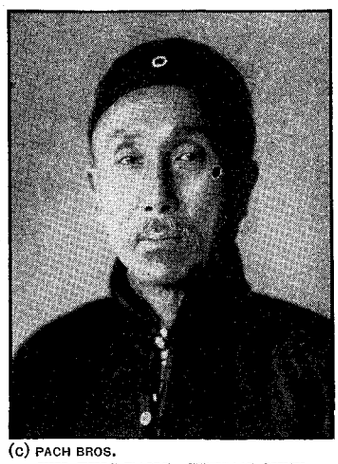
CURRENT EVENTS ILLUSTRATED

CENTRAL NEWS SERVICE

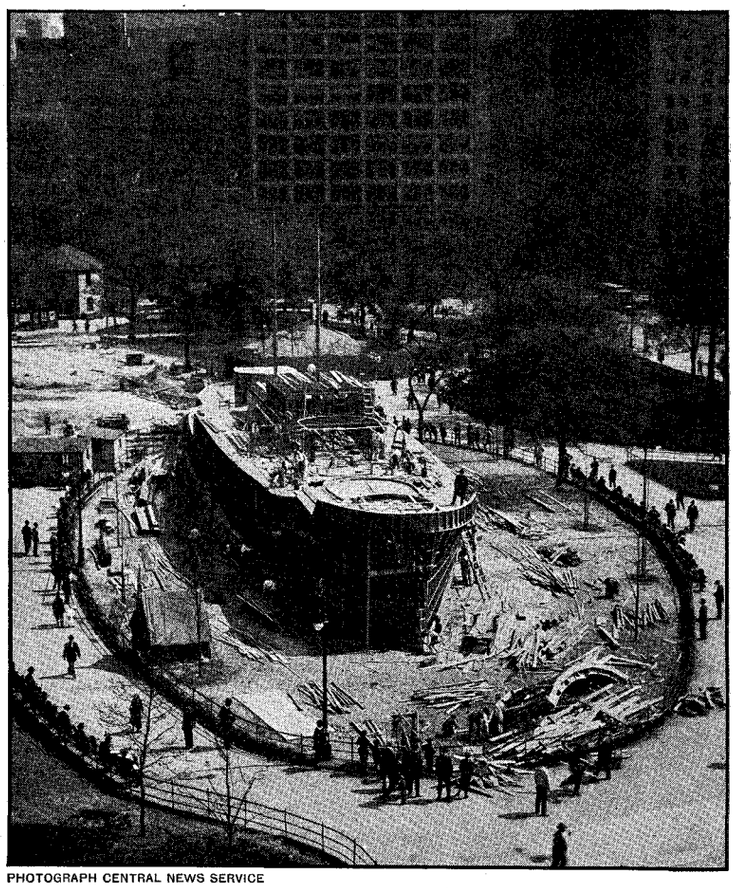
A RECENT PHOTOGRAPH OF THE NEW HEAD OF THE FRENCH ARMY, GENERAL PÉTAIN



(C) PACH BROS.

WU TING-FANG, CHINA'S NEW ACTING PREMIER

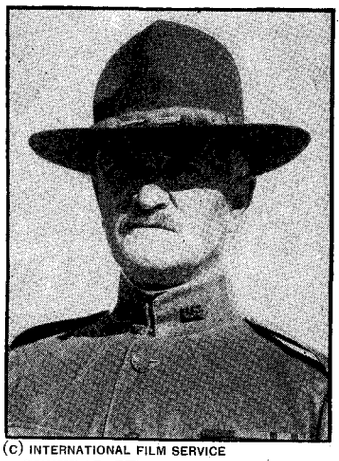
Dr. Wu Ting-fang was formerly Ambassador to the United States



PHOTOGRAPH CENTRAL NEWS SERVICE

A NOVEL RECRUITING STATION FOR THE NAVY

A battle-ship is being built of wood in Union Square, New York City, to aid in securing recruits for the United States Navy. It is reported that it will have a crew of several hundred men, that it will be open to visitors, and that it will be used as an object-lesson to explain the attractions of a sailor's life to possible recruits. Daily drills and maneuvers are planned to arouse interest in this means of showing the landsman what the sailor does



(C) INTERNATIONAL FILM SERVICE

GENERAL PERSHING, WHO WILL LEAD THE FIRST AMERICAN DIVISION TO FRANCE

COLONEL CHARLES A. DOYEN, WHO WILL COMMAND THE FIRST REGIMENT OF U. S. MARINES TO GO TO FRANCE

(C) INTERNATIONAL FILM SERVICE

A DEMONSTRATION IN HONOR OF GENERAL WOOD IN ATLANTA

The new commander of the Southeastern Department of the Army received a great welcome in Atlanta, Georgia, on May 19—two days, as it happened, before Atlanta's great fire. In the above picture the placard "Wood of Tech" recalls the fact that General Wood was once a student at the Georgia School of Technology.

See editorial comment

(C) UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

MISS HELEN TAFT, DEAN OF BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

Miss Taft, who is a daughter of ex-President Taft, has just become Dean of Bryn Mawr, of which institution she is a graduate

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THE AMERICAN GAMIN

AS FORESHADOWED BY VICTOR HUGO IN "LES MISÉRABLES" AND DESCRIBED BY QUOTATIONS FROM THAT MASTERPIECE

A SERIES OF PHOTOGRAPHS BY LEWIS W. HINE

The genius of Victor Hugo reached beyond the limits of France in his characterizations of the children of the streets. There is a universal quality in his vivid descriptions of outcast childhood, meant to apply to the boys and girls of a special locality and period, but true also of other children in other lands and almost a century later. The influence of evil conditions in producing similar types of humanity in both Europe and America receives a most striking illustration in the pictures which Mr. Hine has taken on the East Side in New York City, and in the tenement districts of other American cities, with the accompanying quotations, selected by himself from "Les Misérables," describing the living pictures seen by the great French novelist in the streets of Paris.—THE EDITORS.

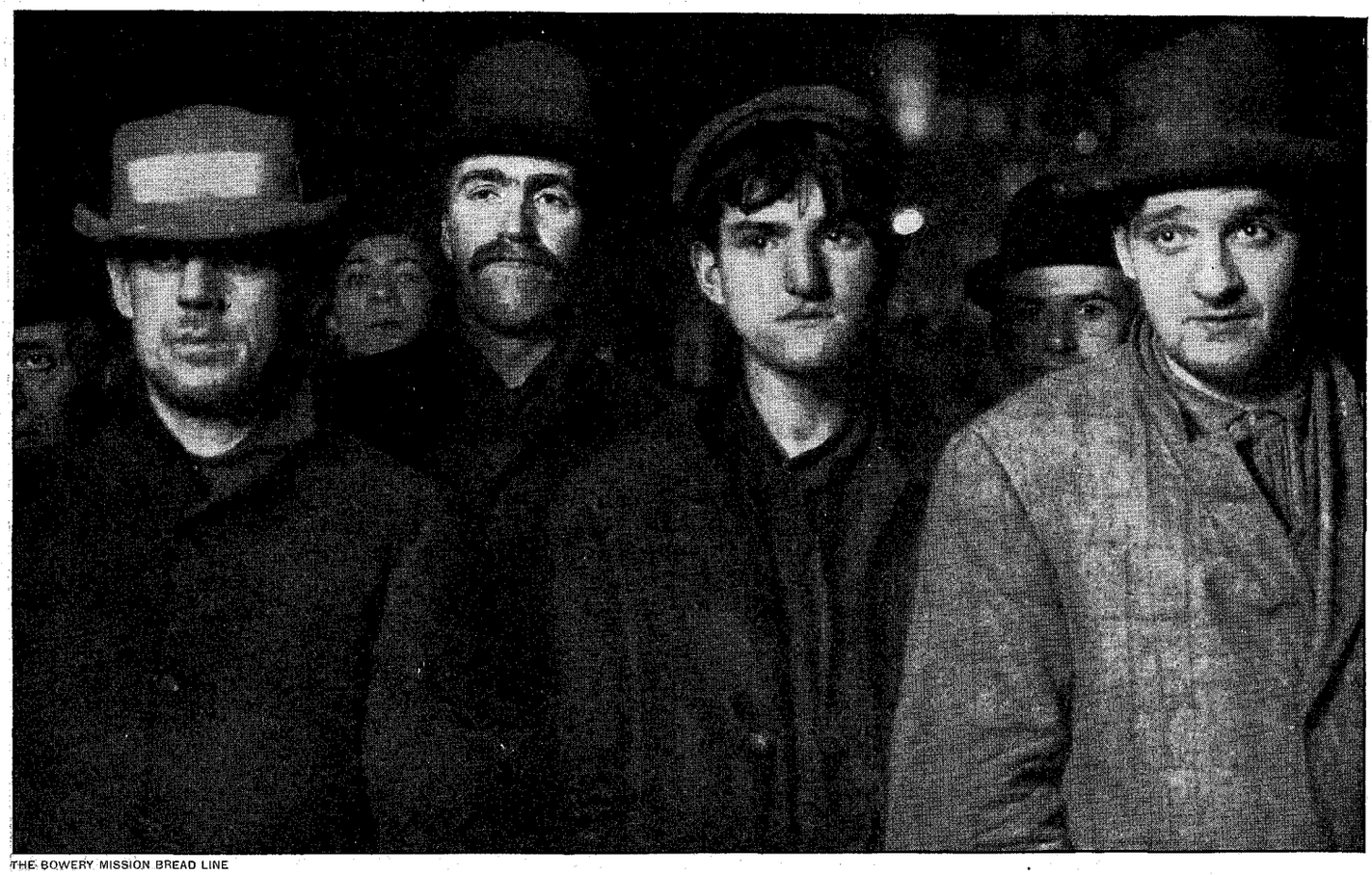
FOREWORD (FROM "LES MISÉRABLES")

"The Mob—the Herd—the Populace—these words are quickly said, but, if it be so, what matters it? What is it to me that they go barefoot? They cannot read—so much the worse; will you abandon them for that? Would you make their misfortune their curse?

"Cannot the light penetrate these masses? Let us return to that cry, 'Light,' and persist in it. Who knows but that these opacities may become transparent, this multitude may be sublimated?

"Let us learn to avail ourselves of this vast combustion of principles and virtues which sparkles, crackles, and thrills. These bare feet, these naked arms, these rags, these shades of ignorance, these depths of abjectness, these abysses of gloom, may be employed in the conquest of The Ideal.

"Look through the medium of the People and you shall discern the Truth."



THE BOWERY MISSION BREAD LINE

"When they are men, the millstones of our Social System come into contact with them and grind them, but while they are children they escape because they are little—the smallest hole saves them"

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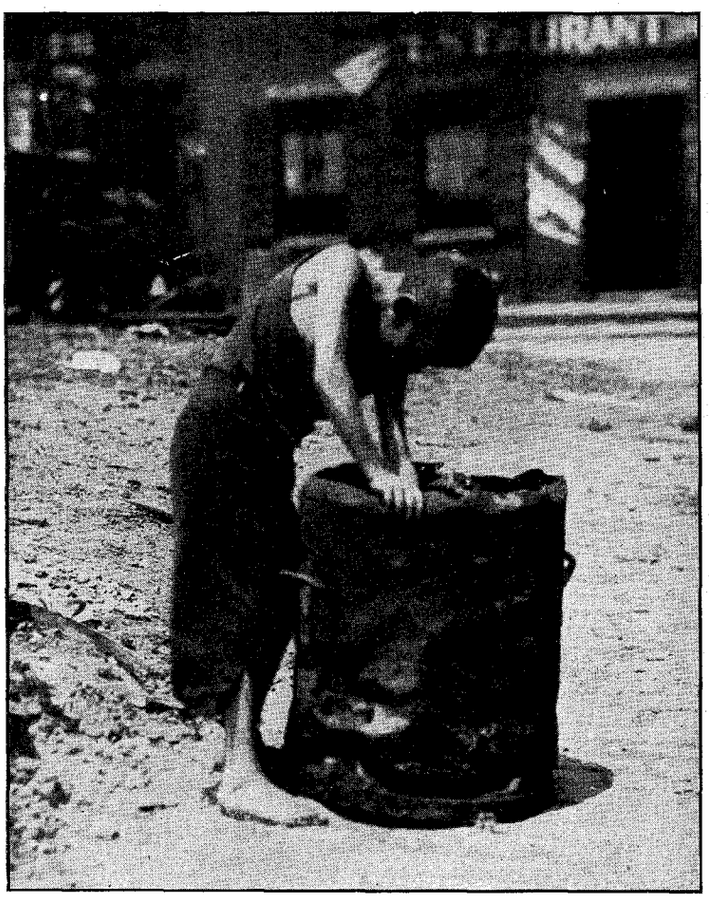
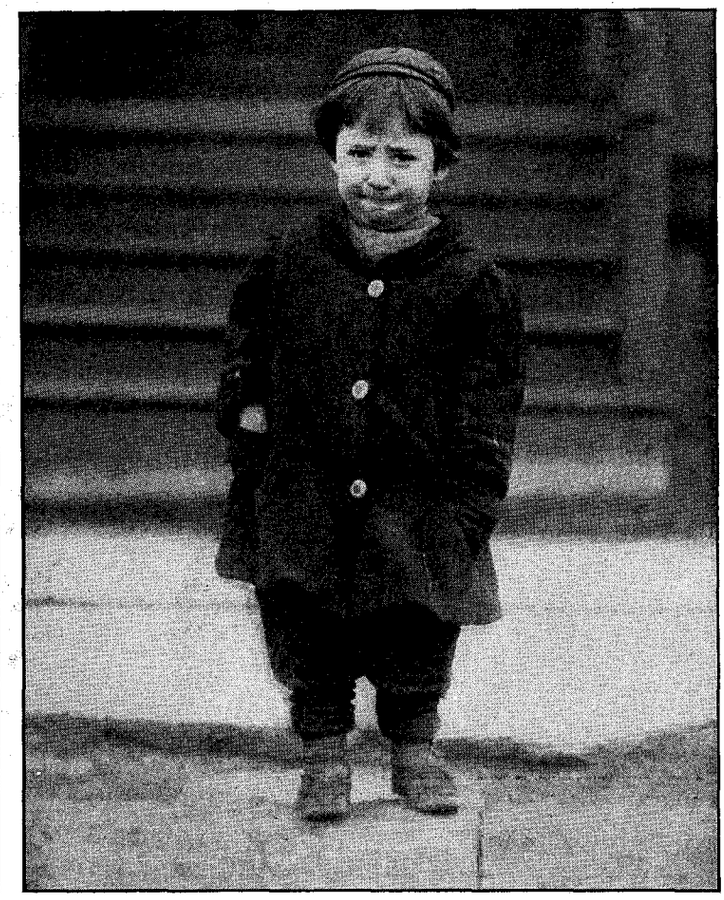
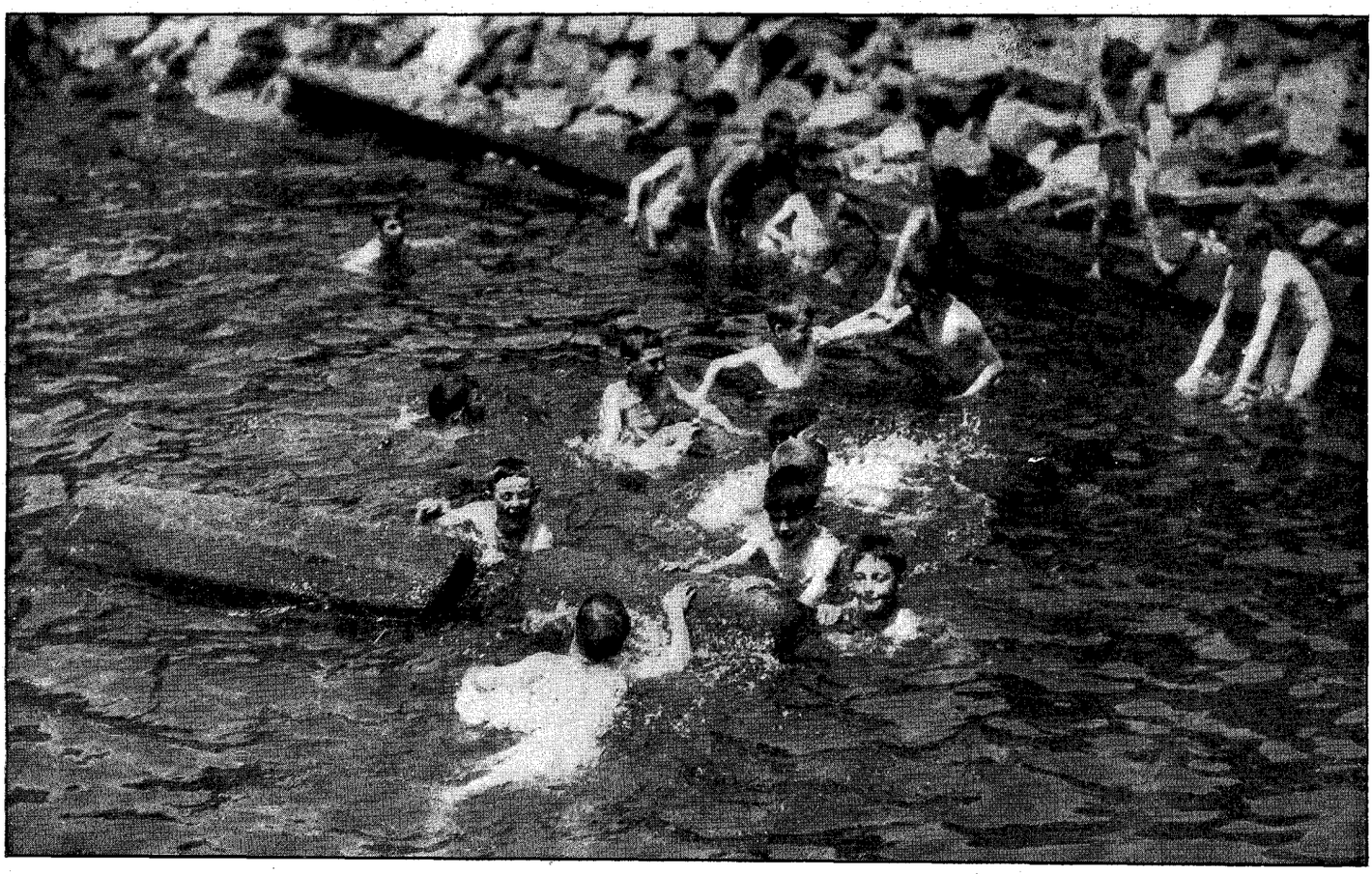


"He wears an old pair of his father's pantaloons down around his heels, an old hat of some other father which covers his ears, and a single suspender"



"One of the things the Gamin is fondest of saying is, 'I'm jolly strong, I am'"



"The Gamin lives in troops, ranges the streets, sleeps in the open air"

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"As sum total—the Gamin is a being who amuses himself because he is unfortunate"

"He has not food to eat every day, yet he goes to the show every evening if he sees fit. He has no shirt to his back, no shoes to his feet, no roof over his head—he is like the flies of the air, who have none of these things"

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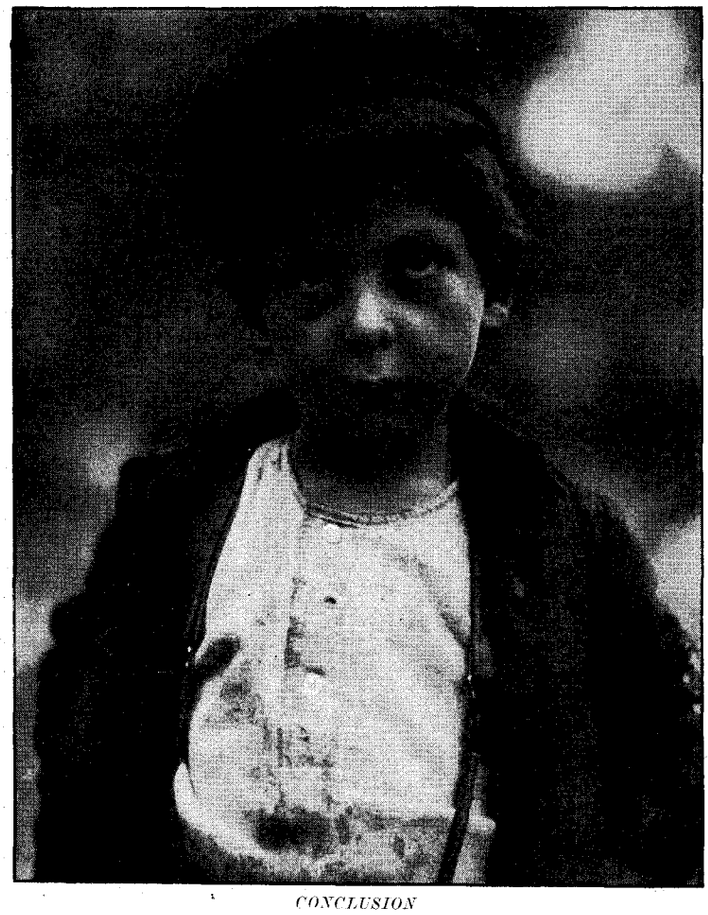
" To be left-handed makes you an object of envy. Squinting is highly esteemed "

If one could ask of this vast City, ' What is that Creature? ' she would answer, ' It is my Bantling ' "

" This little creature is full of joy "



CONCLUSION

" This lowly sand which you trample beneath your feet—if you cast it into the furnace and let it melt and seethe—shall become resplendent crystal, and by means of such as it a Galileo and a Newton shall discover stars "

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involves an immense amount of pains and patience, good judgment, and practice.

A formidable array of accomplishments to be accumulated by our lad of twenty! An impossible task, we would assert, were we not confronted with the startling assurance that thousands of lads of twenty in other countries are now possessed of this training and are teaching their fellows.

To crown the airman's achievements, the most responsible, the most valuable work he is called upon to do is that of the military observer. Apparently the simplest, it is in reality the most important. Before that title can be obtained a thorough knowledge of military science must be gained, and a real genius in fathoming the disguised movements of the enemy must be employed.

Only years of study and experience permit the soldier to attain a position of authority in military circles. After he has advanced laboriously through the several grades and receives his commission as colonel or general, he is assumed to have the knowledge and education which enable him to map out a campaign, to read at a glance the meaning of the enemy's movements, to take advantage of the fortunate topography of the country, to estimate the force needed to take and hold a position.

Much of this responsibility is to-day shifted to the shoulders of the airplane observer. His must be a wise head, highly trained in these technicalities of military science. If the commanding officer himself might go aloft and, circling over the enemy's territory, acquaint himself with the enemy position and doings, he would get far more information than he could possibly receive second hand. But such extraordinary risks are not permitted the head and brain of the army. He must send the most reliable observer he can afford to lose.

To be duped by a crafty subterfuge of the enemy is worse than remaining in ignorance, for misinformation is more misleading than none. If the observer reports that a column of men ten miles long is in retreat, whereas in reality only a few score are goose-stepping in the exposed portions of the highway, calculating to deceive the airman, the commanding officer who acts upon the report might find his forces annihilated from ambush.

Airplane observing is a serious business, and is perfected only by a rare combination of genius and experience.

This work is therefore the acme of the airman's ambition. If he possesses these high qualifications of the reliable observer, he makes a "solo" flight in his reconnoissance, insuring greater speed, less danger, and more probability of a safe return with his priceless news. Then indeed he becomes a free lance—the pride of the army, the prize most eagerly coveted by the foe, the most valuable unit to his general—watched with fearful care and sent forth with implicit confidence.

Obedience to instructions is always necessary to military proficiency, yet a wide latitude must be given the airplane observer. He must be trusted at all times to exceed or to ignore his instructions when he considers it of importance to do so. The extraordinary duties of the air scout and his superior grasp of the actual situation as it is suddenly revealed to him over enemy's lines entitle him often to disregard his orders, although he is in no position to communicate his change of plan to his officer. This is a blunt departure from old military ethics, but one that is fully recognized by commanders of the Fourth Arm to-day.

To illustrate: A scout is sent over the front to correct the range of several batteries of artillery. Movements of great importance wait upon his signals. As he goes aloft he distinguishes heavy columns of the enemy advancing around the cover of a mountain. Such an attack is unknown to and unsuspected by the commanding officer. Shall he carry out his orders or shall he ignore them and dash over to ascertain the exact strength and meaning of this threatened attack? If he makes a mistake, he is in for a severe reprimand whichever decision he chooses. But he must decide for himself, and decide quickly, what is best to be done.

Frequently, no doubt, his judgment is in error; but his opportunities for suddenly learning something more than is suspected by his superior officer are abundant; therefore his violation of orders must be condoned, his personal responsibility respected, his intuition and self-reliance encouraged and developed.

In no other arm of military service is a subordinate so constantly accorded this official delegation of authority. This fact adds one more requirement of character and intellect to the audacious applicant for air service. But in the same ratio as the demands are made and the restrictions imposed the honor is magnified and the opportunity is coveted. A wide selection surely must be originally made to guarantee the necessary quota of fliers possessing so many rare characteristics.

Once convinced of the advisability of forming a strong war-plane force, that government is short-sighted indeed that does not immediately undertake provisions for the various departments necessary to perfect that force. Factories may quickly turn out airplanes according to specifications, but pilots competent to hold their position in the challenged paths of the skies must be schooled, trained, drilled in their new duties, protected, and watched until they acquire the knowledge that will save them from early slaughter and permit them to be of value.

Schools containing hundreds of candidates for the flying corps of the United States should begin at once, be taught by the best instructors available, spreading before these future air scouts the elements of the tasks they are about to assume. Based upon the exigencies of war-torn Europe, the known requirements for the highly developed military airmen should be analyzed, scrutinized, ticketed, and taught. Simultaneously in all our aviation camps the various branches of this business must be understood, experimented in, and developed by the pupils. The sooner graduates from these schools can be released, the faster will spread this information and training, the stronger will be our defenses and the safer will be our future.

It is a governmental function and a public necessity to prepare for action. Face to face with war—war with a nation of surpassing resoluteness and military efficiency, and whose power may be multiplied overnight by alliances depending only upon a scrap of paper and rewarded by the plunder of the richest and weakest nation in the world—the softest place in our armor, and the surest way to strengthen it, is our airplane forces.

The increasingly heavy obligations upon the capabilities of those gallant airmen who will be called upon to assume these overproportionate risks demands in flat justice the particular attention and protection of this rich country.

From time immemorial a nation's call to arms has brought leaping forward her gallant sons—her pride. The proudest are the first—without a thought to the hazards and inconveniences incurred, with no visible scorn for the laggards and slackers who remain skulking behind the principles of a pacifist or the fears of a coward, sublimely indifferent to the sad spectacle of the worthy hastening to the front to defend the unworthy remaining at home; this eager spirit of the heroic volunteer has ever inspired the applause and approbation of the world. That nation which continues to permit this early sacrifice of its nobility is devoting itself to a laggard future of laggard subjects. Logically such a future is not worth saving and preserving, and such a nation deserves little save contempt from its contemporaries.

Regardless of the attitude of the Governmental authorities on this subject, the best young blood of our country will continue and is continuing the offer of its service and life, and the offer is being accepted. Will Congress wait until it is too late to save this glorious class, then compel the skulking class to step into the breach and save itself? Or will Congress compel now the equality of sacrifice, and so mingle the two classes by universal service that only a partial loss of either can be feared?

Confronted with war, the problem of our National preservation must be wisely decided by this country. Wisdom reflected to us from the melancholy experiences of other nations involved in this war should make this decision emphatic and immediate. No plausible arguments dare to justify our present stagnation. Only a lassitude and a shivering timidity against taking the plunge accounts for this grave peril still existing.

Our flying corps is being born to-day. Spectators so long of the frightful carnage in old Europe, our senses are dulled and our caution slumbering. Relying upon England's fleet to keep away the invader, our first danger must come from the skies. That danger is not only probable, but imminent. Let us make our infant flying corps fit to meet it.

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WILD GARDENING, BY A WILD GARDENER

BY FREDERIC ALMY

THE world began with a man and a woman in a garden. The trouble began when the man and the woman left the garden. As Abraham Cowley said, "God the first garden made, and the first city Cain." I agree with Bacon that "God Almightie first planted a Garden. And indeed, it is the Purest of humane Pleasures. It is the Greatest Refreshment to the Spirits of Man." Bacon has his very favorite plants and shrubs for each month: "For December and January you must take such Things as are Greene all Winter: Holly; Bayes; Eugh; Pine-Apple-Trees; Firre-trees." Do you recognize yew, and did you know before that pine trees used to be called pine-apple trees?

In my eighteen acres at a wild place called Jericho my failures have been as perennial as my faith. There is an old farmhouse, built in 1852, covered to the chimneys with Virginia creepers, which, like the lobster, are green living and red dying. These have succeeded, but along the low piazza a row of the single Japanese peonies which look like a huge wild rose was to have been cascaded over with honeysuckles, thrusting in and out among the peony leaves. In the shade the honeysuckles ran more to bugs than to flowers. Nevertheless, the wild clematis, or old-man's-beard, is taking hold as it should and fuming over the peony leaves in a gray cloud.

Near the house is a lily pond, the size of a room, which bears chosen water lilies from June until frost. The goldfish in it reappear each spring, as if the ice which covered them had never existed. It seems to me as much a death and a resurrection as with the flowers, which are as good an emblem of life after death as the butterfly.

The little pond is surrounded by a profusion of wild flowers which are all hand planted. I think the art conceals art, for visitors seldom say more than that we are fortunate in having so many wild flowers. They come in procession—hepatica, trillium, and bloodroot; violets and columbine in profusion; iris of many kinds, candlestick lilies, and the tawny day or road lily, which will grow and bloom even when an automobile runs over it; gorgeous swamp mallow, swamp milkweed, a quantity of joepye-weed, splendid stalks of vervain, cardinal flower, and at the last goldenrod, aster, and Rudbeckia. Not many at one time, for it is only a small pond, but there are so many in all that it seems as if, like Box and Cox, they must rotate in the same beds.

On one side of the pond scarlet tulips *(Gesneriana)* grow wild in the grass, like poppies, and are cut down with the grass in June. There are also guinea-hens, or fritillaria, with their odd checkered calico bells, and some autumn crocus. On the other side I have worked hard over a colony of butterfly-weed, which is the most flaming thing I know in the way of wild flowers. It is a royal color. A weed is said to be a flower in the wrong place, and I know good people who, when they talk with me, impress me as weeds. The butterfly-weed, with its brilliant orange, makes as fine a show as King Cophetua's beggar maid after her social reconstruction.

When I have a large wild garden, it must have a mountain. My heart leaps up when I behold a mountain in the sky. I have never had anywhere in my life nearly half enough of mountains. Not long ago the coming down from the summit of Mount Washington, much of the time on the heights, sometimes descending in the bed of a brook, was a singing joy. To be sure it is not always comfortable to share the same bed with a brook. The cold, watery sheets sometimes make you want to say "blank-et." This is again an escape from my subject, and I will return to botany.

One of my successful floral experiments was edelweiss, which I bloomed for three summers next a boulder on top of the bank, but it took continual watering in summer, and was such a tyrant that the fourth summer I refused to truckle to it. This so-called boulder we thought was about the size of a bucket, but a little digging showed that it had size, and it proved to be as large as a barrel. With a four-horse team to haul it, we made a feature of it under an apple tree, and a mason from the city spent half a day cutting a shallow basin in its top for a bird bath. I have seen three birds at once splashing in it until its sides were dripping.

Let no one suppose that even with flowers I am wise. I just fool with them; and for any sort of success I need plants that are fool-proof. I wish the florists' catalogues would advertise such flowers. Creeping phlox, for instance, is said to establish itself and increase rapidly in the poorest soil. I set out two dozen on a sunny knoll, and, like a careful shepherd, I watered my phlox, but, like the sheep of Bo-peep, they deserted me. Orange hawkweed, or devil's-paint-brush, is described as such a farmers' pest that where once established it can never be extirpated. It can only be burned out with fire. I got some hawkweed started, and by conveying water a quarter of a mile at frequent intervals I kept it alive two years. Then it disappeared.

There is no question that plants have character. When they will, they will, you may depend on it; and when they won't, they won't, and there's an end on't. The wild morning-glory, or bindweed, cannot be kept out of our flower-beds by any pains, and unless watched it almost strangles the larkspur and the lilies; but when I plant it where *I* want it, and cosset it, it refuses to grow. I have thought that it might scramble over the rough bank in front of the house, but it thinks otherwise, and you can guess which wins. I have seen bittersweet grow through our dirt cellar floor when it would not grow in a bed. Flowers must be feminine.

If a stone were set at Jericho for each plant that never came up, the place would look like a cemetery. In Kipling's elusive story called "They" a lonely woman so desires children that her big house is filled with their forms and voices, seen and heard only by her and a few who can understand. At Jericho there are few places in my walks where I do not see the ghosts of flowers that were planted but never grew.

I have said that flowers show character. It takes character to start underground in the dark; to wait six months in the dark for the first signs of spring; to insist absolutely on being a lady's-slipper, or a Shirley poppy, or whatever you were meant to be, and nothing else; to draw food from the dark and keep at it until frost, even though no one sees. The evangelist Moody tells us that character is what a man is in the dark. If character is what you are in the dark, flowers have character.

I have been asked how a wage slave finds time for gardening, even if it is wild gardening. An answer which has got me into serious trouble with the good is that I think going to church in summer is breaking the Sabbath. So it is if you have no other day in summer to be outdoors and you *like* outdoors. If playing with flowers is breaking the Sabbath, my Sundays will continue to be brittle.

It renews my strength, both spiritually and physically, to touch the earth. I am like the giant Antæus, who could not be defeated by Hercules because every time he was thrown down and touched his Mother Earth he rose twice stronger for the contact. It was only when Hercules lifted him and held him up among high things, but away from the earth, that his strength left him.

Gardening is an ancient profession. We are told in "Hamlet" that "there is no ancient gentlemen but gardeners, ditchers, and grave-makers." I am all three. I garden, I ditch, and I make graves for about half of my pets. Herod never slew more innocents than I have. And yet I always begin the long winter months with a naïve faith that in the spring resurrection I shall see most, if not all, of those that I consigned to the ground in the fall. There are five hundred Spanish iris (they cost thirty cents a hundred); there are one hundred Florentine tulips, or wood tulips; there are one hundred feathered hyacinths, also called tuzzy-muzzys; and some crown imperials, which I have tried three times with never a sign of life. When you have six months to wait, you value what you wait for, and during the long winter, when I can garden only in catalogues (an expensive operation), my thoughts turn often to what is waiting for me under the sod. And when the spring comes, and the summer, and the autumn, I shall be walking about all over the place, seeking for the first signs of old friends and looking eagerly for the strangers to see what they look like and what sort of clothes they wear. I repeat what Bacon said, that gardening "is the Purest of humane Pleasures. It is the Greatest Refreshment to the Spirits of Man."

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Great corporation head is amazed at the skill & devotion of Davey Tree Surgeons

Correspondence between W. W. Salmon, President of the General Railway Signal Company, and M. L. Davey, General Manager of the Davey Organization—a message of vital importance to every owner of trees.

GENERAL RAILWAY SIGNAL COMPANY
Principal Office:
Rochester, N. Y., U. S. A.

W. W. Salmon, President.

New York City, Sept. 29, 1916.

Mr. M. L. Davey, Davey Tree Expert Co., Kent, Ohio.
Dear Mr. Davey:

Enclosed herewith please find my check to your order for $1,081.33 in full for tree surgery on my property at Beechmont, New Rochelle.

In making this remittance permit me to express my appreciation of the *capable, interested service* rendered by your organization. Your New York Office as well as your Westchester representative and your foreman, *have one and all given the most painstaking attention to my needs, and I have been so much impressed with the efficiency of your organization as I have come in contact with it*, that it would please me greatly if, when you can find time, you will have the goodness to *furnish me with any data* at your command, showing *how you have built up and maintained it* in such a way *as to bring about the devotion and enterprise* so evident in your representatives whom it has been my pleasure to meet.

Yours very truly,
W. W. Salmon.

Kent, Ohio, Oct. 3, 1916.

W. W. Salmon, Esq., "Beechmont," New Rochelle, N. Y.
Dear Mr. Salmon:

Acknowledging your esteemed favor of Sept. 29th, I want to assure you that such a voluntary expression of satisfaction is more than a pleasure—it is an inspiration. The public as a whole has been very gracious to us in return for our conscientious efforts to give Quality First Tree Surgery and honest service.

I believe that most worthy things, especially along the line of organization, are the result of evolution based upon a fundamental policy. *Our purpose from the beginning has been to give maximum service, which means perfected methods, high type men and an organization ideal.*

Perhaps the thing of first importance is the men—the men who actually do the work. The people whom we serve are not particularly interested in my theories or my knowledge or my ability. They measure the Davey organization by the men whom they see, and rightly so. Consequently, we have endeavored to get the right kind of men.

We go on the theory that "A leopard cannot change his spots." If a man is dishonest, if he is lazy, if he is careless and indifferent, if he lacks intelligence, if he lacks the spirit of cooperation and devotion to his work and his employers—if he lacks these fundamental things, no argument and no appeal and no inducement will make him a good man. *We, therefore, eliminate the poor ones as fast as we find them, keeping only those who have in them the qualities which have impressed you.* The good ones we boost and encourage and try to inspire as soon as we find that they are good. We pay these good men well and pay them more as soon as they prove they are worth more. The foreman who had charge of your work will be given a raise immediately on the strength of your letter. Is it not reasonable to suppose that he will strive still harder to please every other client? *Every man in the Davey organization knows that his advancement depends upon his service and upon no other thing.*

While we pay well we demand much in return. If a man fails to live up to our high standard we do not want him and will not have him. *If our service at any time falls below this high standard, we let the offender go and make good to the client.* Thus the process of elimination leaves us the good men, those who are intelligent, industrious, honest and devoted to their work.

Our men are all trained in the Davey organization. We take no man's recommendation of himself. He must go through the mill and show us. Every man is responsible to us for his work and his conduct, which is the measure of his service. *Thus the client gets, through us, the highest possible service—guaranteed service. We, who know values in Tree Surgery, select the man who is to handle your priceless trees and we stand back of it with the whole strength of our organization and reputation.*

We have devoted ourselves unceasingly to the perfection of our methods, with the result that our work is in reality practically perfect both mechanically and scientifically. We maintain our own school at a considerable annual expense for the specific purpose of training our men according to the Davey methods and Davey standard.

Every year we have a Convention, when we bring all of our responsible men together, including foremen, special representatives, officers, students and school faculty. *We had our usual Convention last March. We had more than sixty foremen in attendance. The average length of their experience was about five years, with the result that more than three hundred years of actual experience was concentrated, massed, on the problems of Tree Surgery.* We had a week's demonstration work, during which time we discussed everything from the most important down to the seemingly trivial things. *Everything was put to the test of experience. We wanted no theories. We demanded only the definite results of ripe experience. The result is not only a constantly rising standard, but a very gratifying and valuable uniformity of methods and policy.*

We had with us during our last annual Convention, *Dr. H. D. House, New York State Botanist*, who was formerly Professor in the Biltmore Forestry School. We wanted him here so that he could look us over. *He expressed himself as amazed at the character of our organization and said that he could now understand why we had made a success of our work.* Among

**From Mr. Wm. M. Wood, Pres.
Am. Woolen Co., Boston, Mass.**

"Your work upon my trees bears the mark of expert knowledge, and I am looking forward confidently to the best possible results from your intelligent treatment. Your success in tree preservation makes you a real public benefactor."

**From Mr. G. M. Palmer, Pres.
Hubbard Milling Co., Mankato, Minn.**

"I was very much pleased with the work of your men on my trees. They seem to understand thoroughly their business and I am sure they have put my trees in first class condition."

**From Mr. W. H. Mullins, Pres.
The W. H. Mullins Co., Salem, O.**

"The work done by your men on my trees has been very satisfactory and I hope will be the means of prolonging their life for many years."

**From Mr. Ezra F. Hershey,
Hershey Chocolate Co., Hershey, Penn.**

"It is a pleasure to me, and I feel it a duty, to recommend any work that is done as intelligently as you handled my work here."

Davey Tree

FOR *SAFE* TREE SURGERY

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other things he said, "These men would do honor to any institution of learning in America." A thing which greatly impressed him was the fact that our men, these fellows of broad, practical experience, were absolutely unanimous on every vital point.

Then there is the question of organization spirit. Our men have been made to feel that they are engaged in a great work—a work which is altogether worthy of them and the best that is in them. They have been made to realize that their future success is inseparably interwoven with the future and the success of the Davey organization. We have appealed to their self-interest, their desire for success and for financial return. *We have shown them that there is only one way for them to advance their self-interest and that is to give devoted service to their Company and its clients.* Without the right kind of men such an appeal would be as wasted as a single rain on a desert. With the right kind of men as we have, such an appeal finds ready response, which grows and grows in beauty and in practical utility.

You as a business man know the inspiration which comes from definite achievement, from approaching a fixed goal. I find more satisfaction in this achievement than in the profit which comes from it. *I believe that a business ideal is a source of power and serves to draw success as a magnet.*

Ten years ago the Davey organization was only a mere handful doing a business of about ten or twelve thousand dollars per year. Today we have an organization of about three hundred built along the lines which I have indicated. *Our business this year will exceed three hundred thousand dollars and I am very glad to say it leaves in its wake an almost general feeling of satisfaction such as you have expressed.*

Let me assure you that we very deeply appreciate the opportunity of serving you and the honor of your full confidence and esteem.

Sincerely yours,
THE DAVEY TREE EXPERT CO.
M. L. Davey, General Manager.

Rochester, N. Y., Nov. 17, 1916.

Mr. M. L. Davey, General Manager,
The Davey Tree Expert Co., Kent, Ohio.

Dear Mr. Davey:

Please accept my sincere thanks for your most illuminating letter of October 3rd.

Your story, interesting in itself, is most admirably told, though in its telling it appears to me that you have failed to mention the one element without which the "perfected methods, high type men and organization ideal" would not have come into being. That unnamed element I suspect to have been Davey, who first conceived the ideal, then determined the methods and later found and inspired with some part of his own enthusiasm the men who are actually carrying out the work.

Shortly after receiving your letter I read it to the department heads of the General Railway Signal Company, while at luncheon, and the interesting discussion that followed led me to show the letter to some of my business friends, who are at the head of companies employing a great many men. In each such instance I have been asked for a copy of the letter—in order that they may have their men read and profit by it.

Will you have the goodness to write me at my home address whether I have your consent to make and send out to my business friends such copies?

Sincerely yours,
W. W. Salmon.

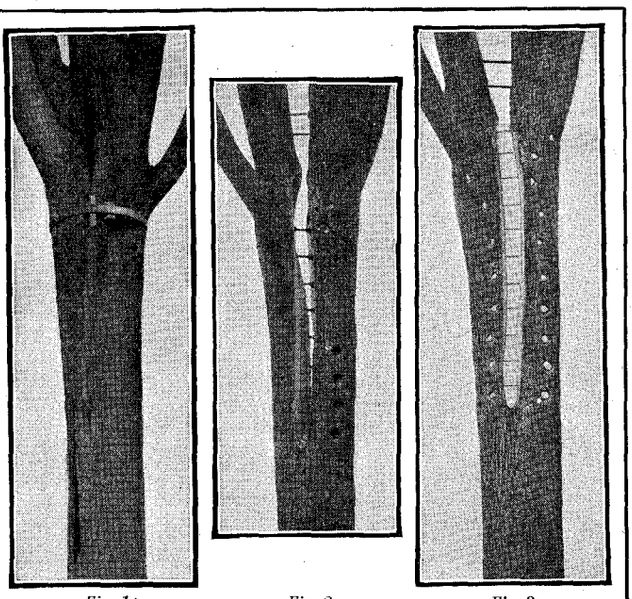

Fig. 1 *Fig. 2* *Fig. 3*

Fig. 1.—See the iron band around the trunk. The tree was splitting apart and a "tree patcher" tried to save it. Temporarily it prevented a catastrophe, but the band was strangling the bark. And the real trouble, which was the decay on the inside, had received no attention whatever and the condition was growing rapidly worse.

Fig. 2.—Davey Tree Surgeons got at the real trouble. They first tied the branches together with ropes to prevent accident while operating. The decay was removed to the last particle, the inside of the cavity was thoroughly sterilized and waterproofed. The mechanical bracing employed demonstrates the finished skill and complete mastery of Davey Tree Surgeons.

Fig. 3.—The filling of a crotch cavity is probably the most trying task confronted by a Tree Surgeon. The filling is subjected to tremendous twisting and strain; it must not only be held firmly in place by the most expert mechanical bracing, but it must also allow for the normal sway of the tree. The sectional filling method aids wonderfully in this accomplishment, but correct mechanical bracing is ultra-important.

Write today for FREE examination of your trees

—and booklet, "When Your Trees Need the Tree Surgeon." What is the real condition of your trees? Only the experienced Tree Surgeon can tell you fully and definitely. Without cost or obligation to you, a Davey Tree Surgeon will visit your place, and render an honest verdict regarding their condition and needs. Write today.

The Davey Tree Expert Co., Inc.
1106 Elm St., Kent, Ohio
(Operating the Davey Institute of Tree Surgery)
Branch Offices with telephone connections:
225 Fifth Ave., New York
2017 Land Title Bldg., Philadelphia
450 McCormick Bldg., Chicago

Permanent representatives located at Boston, Newport, Lenox, Hartford, Stamford, Albany, Poughkeepsie, White Plains, Jamaica, L. I., Morristown, N. J., Philadelphia, Harrisburg, Baltimore, Washington, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, Cincinnati, Louisville, Chicago, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, St. Louis, Kansas City. Canadian Address, 81 St. Peter St., Quebec.

From Mr. Henry A. Everett, Pres.
Northern Ohio Traction and Light Co.
Cleveland, Ohio

"It is now six years since you first treated my trees at Willoughby and I am more than satisfied with results."

From Mr. Samuel G. Allen, Pres.
Franklin Railway Supply Co., New York

"The work of your representatives on my place at Fair Haven is exceedingly satisfactory. I found your foreman not only a very capable operator but a very courteous and polite little gentleman."

Surgeons

Every real Davey Tree Surgeon is in the employ of the Davey Tree Expert Company and the public is cautioned against those falsely representing themselves.

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WEEKLY OUTLINE STUDY OF CURRENT HISTORY

BY J. MADISON GATHANY, A.M.
HOPE STREET HIGH SCHOOL, PROVIDENCE, R. I.

Based on The Outlook of May 30, 1917

Each week an Outline Study of Current History based on the preceding number of The Outlook will be printed for the benefit of current events classes, debating clubs, teachers of history and of English, and the like, and for use in the home and by such individual readers as may desire suggestions in the serious study of current history.—THE EDITORS.

[Those who are using the weekly outline should not attempt to cover the whole of an outline in any one lesson or study. Assign for one lesson selected questions, one or two propositions for discussion, and only such words as are found in the material assigned. Or distribute selected questions among different members of the class or group and have them report their findings to all when assembled. Then have all discuss the questions together.]

I—INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Topics: The President Declines to Accept the Roosevelt Volunteers; The Y. M. C. A. War Work; Reclamation Work in India and America.

Reference: Pages 175, 176, 180, 182.

Questions:

1. For what reasons did the President decline to accept the Roosevelt volunteers? Comment on these reasons. 2. Sum up Colonel Roosevelt's answer to President Wilson's explanations. 3. What does The Outlook think of the President's decision? What do you? 4. What are the objects of the Young Men's Christian Association in peace time? In what ways does it carry out these objects? 5. Describe the work this institution plans to do during the present war. 6. Is there proof that the Young Men's Christian Association is *catholic* in spirit and purpose? 7. Find out all you can about the work of John R. Mott. Discuss the value of his services. 8. What has been and is being done in reclaiming land in India? 9. Compare this reclamation work with that done in America. 10. Explain the process and the benefits of reclaiming land. 11. Compare modern methods of reclamation work with ancient methods.

II—FOREIGN AFFAIRS

A. Topic: The Irish Problem.

Reference: Editorial pages 182, 183.

Questions:

1. Point out specifically the "seeds of injustice" England sowed in Ireland during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. (See references under "Ireland" in the index to Cheyney's "A Short History of England," and the index to Green's "A Short History of the English People.") 2. Give a connected account of Ireland's efforts to secure Home Rule. 3. Tell definitely what is meant by "Home Rule," "sectarian Protestants," "sectarian Catholics," "Established Church," "state endowments," and the "Government of Great Britain." 4. Would or would not independence be better for Ireland than Home Rule? 5. Compare Gladstone's Irish policy with that of Mr. Lloyd George. Which is the more statesmanlike? Why? 6. Comment somewhat at length on the Sinn Feiners. What do you think of their objects and methods? 7. In your opinion what are the fundamental bases upon which successful Home Rule for Ireland must rest?

B. Topic: Cardinal Mercier.

Reference: Pages 189, 190.

Questions:

1. Give an account of the work of Cardinal Mercier in Belgium. 2. What is the Cardinal's philosophy of life and living as revealed by this article? 3. Tell of Germany's spoliation of Belgium and of the atrocities of the German troops in Belgium. (See McClure's "Obstacles to Peace," Chapters VII, XI, XV.) 4. Evaluate the work of Cardinal Mercier in Belgium. 5. In what respects does Mr. Gade's article appeal to you?

III—NATIONAL AFFAIRS

A. Topic: Periodicals and the Postal Rates.

Reference: Editorial pages 183, 184.

Questions:

1. Explain why the proposed increase in the rate on second-class mail matter is not taxation. 2. Give reasons showing why it is wrong to assume that postal rates should be determined by the cost of transportation. 3. Do you understand why it is that second-class mail matter greatly increases first-class mail matter? 4. Reproduce what Professor Linn says would be the effect of placing the proposed increased rates on periodicals (page 184). 5. Give at least five arguments why the proposed postal provision should be defeated. 6. Discuss the function of newspapers and periodicals in a democracy.

B. Topic: The Liberty Loan.

Reference. Pages 194, 195; Editorial, page 184.

Questions:

1. How many reasons does Mr. Price give why Americans should buy Liberty bonds? Explain each briefly. 2. For what different purposes does the United States Government issue bonds? 3. Explain carefully the process of issuing Federal bonds and the conditions under which they are issued. 4. What is the difference between instinct and patriotism? Which is the more powerful? 5. Explain Mr. Price's view of patriotism. Does it rest upon an unmoral basis? Compare his view with The Outlook's view of patriotism. 6. Give fifteen reasons for buying Liberty bonds.

IV—PROPOSITIONS FOR DISCUSSION

(These propositions are suggested directly or indirectly by the subject-matter of The Outlook, but not discussed in it.)

1. An illiterate cannot be patriotic.
2. History shows that in the long run people will not be loyal to a government that does not rest upon democratic principles.
3. International law cannot be destroyed.

V—VOCABULARY BUILDING

(All of the following words and expressions are found in The Outlook for May 30, 1917. After looking them up in the dictionary or elsewhere, give their meaning *in your own words.*)

Chaplains, reservations, plethora, formidable, animosities, convention, omnipotent, conciliation, gross income, expenditure, silhouette, acolytes, puppets, philosophy, synthesize, Thomism, metaphysics, boomerang, fraternity, nostalgia, amortization, onerous.

THE NEW BOOKS

This Department will include descriptive notes, with or without brief comments, about books received by The Outlook. Many of the important books will have more extended and critical treatment later

BIOGRAPHY

Jan Smuts. Being a Character Sketch of Gen. the Hon. J. C. Smuts, K.C. By N. Levi. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. $2.50.

The biography of Jan Christian Smuts reveals characteristics obtaining among the best Dutch people, whether of Holland or South Africa. In addition, General Smuts is a man of exceptional brain power and political vision, though just now our attention is being centered upon him as a military leader. His biography is doubly worth while; it describes both an interesting individual character and the recent development of South African economic, social, and political conditions.

My Reminiscences. By Sir Rabindranath Tagore. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.

Truly described by the publisher as "a record of states of mind even more than of external circumstances." Interesting, mystical, dreamy; but as a biography not satisfactory. One wants to know about Sir Rabindranath's school and its methods, about his principles of education, his view of English civilization and the English people, his judgment on the relation of the English Government to India; but on these subjects the author is absolutely silent. The chief value of the book is as a self-revelation of an Oriental mind.

POETRY

Cause (The). Poems of the War. By Laurence Binyon. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $1.

Merlin. A Poem. By Edwin Arlington Robinson. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.25.

New Poetry (The). An Anthology. Edited by Harriet Monroe and Alice Corbin Henderson. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.75.

Poems of Heinrich Heine. Selected and Translated by Louis Untermeyer. Henry Holt & Co., New York. $2.

Si Briggs Talks. Poems. By Madeline Yale Wynne. With Drawings by Gluyas Williams. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $1.25.

Sinbad the Sailor. A Lyric Phantasy. By Percy MacKaye. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $1.25.

These Times. By Louis Untermeyer. Henry Holt & Co., New York. $1.25.

To Mother. An Anthology of Mother Verse. Introduction by Kate Douglas Wiggin. Houghton Mifflin Company. Boston. $1.

Yosemite (The), and Other Verse. By Caroline Hazard. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $1.25.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

Polar Hunters (The). By Francis Rolt-Wheeler. The Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Company, Boston. $1.35.

A vivid picture of Eskimo life, the hunting of polar bears and walrus, and the perils of ice and ocean.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

African Adventures. By Jean Kenyon Mackenzie. Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions and the Missionary Education Movement. 50c.

Cycles of Personal Belief. By Waldo Emerson Forbes. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $1.25.

Handbook of the New Thought. By Horatio W. Dresser. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $1.25.

Popular Aspects of Oriental Religions. By L. O. Hartman, Ph.D. The Abingdon Press, New York. $1.35.

An admirable, brief, popular statement of Oriental religions—the religions of Korea, China, India, the Mohammedan lands, and Persia. A bibliography is

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The New Books (Continued)

attached to each chapter, which makes further study of the subject practicable to the reader. The author writes from the Christian point of view, but his spirit is not that of a partisan but of a lover of truth wherever it exists. It will be found especially valuable for those endeavoring to promote in our churches an intelligent interest in foreign missions.

St. Paul the Hero. By Rufus M. Jones. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.

WAR BOOKS

Emden (The). By Hellmuth von Mücke. Translated by Helene S. White. Ritter & Co., Boston. $1.25.

The adventurous career of Germany's famous cruiser told by her captain.

Greater Italy. By William Kay Wallace. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $2.50.

Greater Italy means the Trentino, of course, and then Italy's interests in the Adriatic and Ægean Seas and in northern and eastern Africa. In describing all these interests and in bringing Italian history to date, the author rehearses the achievement of Italian unity, and shows how, despite the intimacy which for a generation existed between Rome and Berlin, with immense material benefit to Italy, it was finally Italy's duty to free herself from German influence. Whatever be the fate that befalls her arms, Italy has already, as the author says, won victory. For she is fighting not solely for the aggrandizement of her territory or the increase of her wealth, "she is fighting for the greatness of her national soul. . . . As an upholder of the right of nations, she is helping to bring once again peace, security, and liberty to Europe."

White Nights and Other Russian Impressions. By Arthur Ruhl. Illustrated. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $2.

The present Russian crisis calls attention to books on Russia. Mr. Arthur Ruhl's volume is therefore timely. The title, "White Nights," which alone appears on the back of the book, is somewhat misleading, for the text is concerned only slightly with the long twilights characteristic of northern Russia and Scandinavia. Mr. Ruhl's description of these twilights is, however, one of the most restfully charming things in the book. The remainder of the volume may not be so restful or so charming, but it is quite as well worth while reading.

EDUCATIONAL

Schoolmaster of the Great City (A). By Angelo Patri. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.25.

The experience of "a teacher with a vision," and also of practical ideas and a sense of humor. His book has in it entertainment and valuable suggestions also.

MISCELLANEOUS

Capital Punishment, Selected Articles on. Compiled by C. E. Fanning. (Debaters' Handbook Series.) The H. W. Wilson Company, White Plains, New York. $1.25.

How to Get Ahead. Saving Money and Making It Work. By Albert W. Atwood. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis. $1.25.

Joyous Art of Gardening (The). By Frances Duncan. Illustrated. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.75.

Life at the U. S. Naval Academy: The Making of the American Naval Officer. By Ralph Earle. Introduction by Franklin D. Roosevelt. Illustrated. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $2.

Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic, Selected Articles on. Compiled by Lamar T. Beman, A.M. (Debaters' Handbook Series.) The H. W. Wilson Company, White Plains, New York. $1.25.

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if you will keep your motor free from carbon. That knocking in your engine—the difficulty you have climbing hills—poor pick-up—lack of power—noisy motor—pre-ignition—in fact 80% of engine trouble is caused by carbon. Clean it out with

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and your engine will run like it did the first 500 miles—quietly and full of "pep". And your gasoline consumption will drop from 12% to 25%.

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For 25c—five minutes' time—and with **no** labor you, yourself, can remove all carbon deposits. Simply pour an ounce of Johnson's Carbon Remover into each cylinder—allow it to remain from two to twelve hours and then drive your car 10 or 15 miles. You will be surprised at the wonderful improvement.

How It Works

Johnson's Carbon Remover does not eat the carbon, but releases it from the metal and softens it into a jelly-like, inflammable mass. Then, as the engine is operated, the mass burns, pulverizes and is blown out through the exhaust in powdered form.

Use It Every 1,000 Miles

If you will use Johnson's Carbon Remover at regular intervals giving carbon no chance to accumulate, you will automatically eliminate most valve trouble and your engine will always be at its highest efficiency.

If your dealer cannot supply you with Johnson's Carbon Remover use attached coupon.

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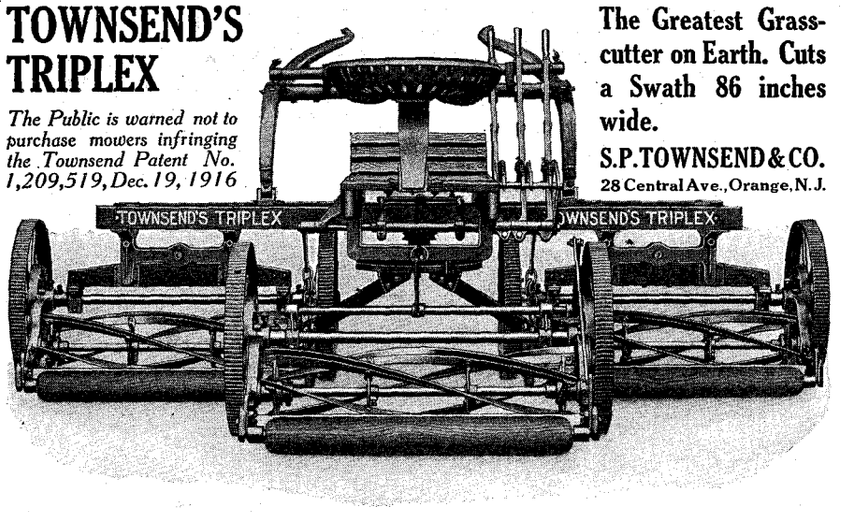

Drawn by one horse and operated by one man, the TRIPLEX MOWER will mow more lawn in a day than the best motor mower ever made, cut it better and at a fraction of the cost.

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Floats over the uneven ground as a ship rides the waves. One mower may be climbing a knoll, the second skimming a level and the third paring a hollow.

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Wells Fargo Checks are good. Use them to buy gasoline and tires, and to pay your hotel bills. You can't expect your personal check to be cashed where you are unknown. It is not safe to carry a large amount of cash—but Wells Fargo Checks are as available as cash, and safe besides.

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Millions of dollars of Wells Fargo Checks are issued annually by banks, railroad and steamship ticket offices.

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DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

Believing that the advance of business is a subject of vital interest and importance, The Outlook will present in this department each month an article treating some phase of the country's commercial development. These articles will be educational in character and will set forth in a comprehensive way the industrial upbuilding of the Nation. This department is designed to be of service to readers of The Outlook, and inquiries in regard to industrial subjects will be answered by letter or in these pages. All letters of inquiry should be addressed to the Industrial Editor of the Outlook, 381 4th Ave., N. Y.

MODERN SANITATION and MODERN PLUMBING

DESCRIBING THE ADVANCE IN THE MANUFACTURE OF FIXTURES FOR THE BATH AND WASH-ROOM AND THE CONTRIBUTION OF THIS INDUSTRY TO HYGIENE AND SANITATION

WITHIN the last few decades many of the greatest achievements in the history of human progress have taken place. The art of living has been closely studied, and the science of the maintenance of public health and the prevention of disease has been rapidly developed.

Sanitary science is of foremost importance to the welfare of mankind, of nations, communities, and individuals. The profession of the sanitary engineer is of inestimable value to the public. He is largely responsible for the promotion of the public and individual health, for the remedying of unsanitary conditions, and for the prevention of epidemic diseases.

The United States stands far in advance of all other countries in its care of the public health and the rapid development of modern sanitation and modern plumbing. Yet many of us can remember when conditions even in this country were indescribably bad, and to-day in many sections of the country a vast amount of education on proper sanitation is still needed.

Away back in Biblical times we have records of regulations for the construction of reservoirs and canals for drainage and for placing cisterns in houses. Jerusalem had a water supply furnished by subterranean aqueducts, some of which are still in operation. The Romans built drainage canals, and later constructed extensive systems of aqueducts for the water supply of Rome.

After the decay of the Roman Empire and during the centuries following, Europe for more than a thousand years was pervaded with intellectual and social darkness. Cleanliness was regarded as one of the luxuries which was inconsistent with godliness, while bodily filth was considered as a mark of piety and sanctification. Bathing was unknown, houses and clothing were filthy, and the condition of the streets was beyond all description. The result of this violation of sanitary principles is seen in the horrible pestilences that spread over Europe. One of these, called the Black Death, is said to have had over forty million victims since its first appearance in the fourteenth century.

Many of the old English writers give us glimpses of the primitive sanitary arrangements which existed even in London previous to the nineteenth century. Water was secured from a pump or convenient spring and carried into the house in vessels of various sorts, and all the waste was thrown out of the window or washed out into an open gutter in the road. A basin

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Modern Sanitation and Modern Plumbing
(Continued)

in the bedroom and a waste-bucket in the kitchen met all the needs of the household. Macaulay in a chapter on the state of England in 1685 describes the dangers of walking out after nightfall. "Garret windows were opened and pails emptied with little regard to those who were passing below."

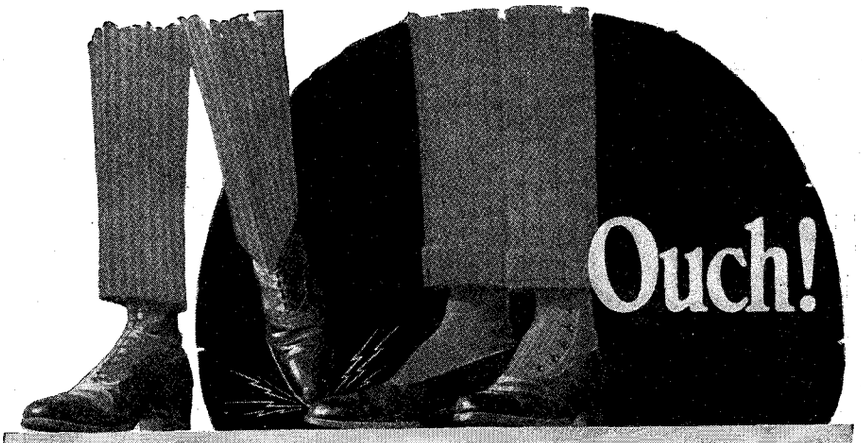
But the development of medical science gradually brought about a demand for better sanitary arrangements. Early in the nineteenth century the building of drains and sewers began, and in 1847 a law was passed in London making it compulsory to turn all sewage into such drains or sewers. At this date modern sanitary engineering may be said to have had its origin, although it was not until many years later that the term became known to the public.

In the development of modern plumbing as we know it to-day American manufacturers soon took the lead. The early American plumbing work followed very closely the practice then prevalent in English plumbing work. The plumber of the first part of the nineteenth century was really what his name indicated—namely, a worker in lead. This metal was used more than any other in the plumbing work of the earlier periods. Lead was used for all pipes, lining of cisterns and tanks, and for making sinks and bath-tubs. During the long winter months the making of lead pipe furnished employment for the boys and apprentices in the trade, as each plumber was obliged to prepare his own stock in advance for the next building season. Most of the early plumbing was incased in wooden closets in order to conceal the pipes. The wood decayed rapidly on account of dampness, and thus offered a lurking-place for dirt and germs. In many old houses this inclosed type of plumbing is still found.

It was soon discovered that pure lead had many disadvantages, and other materials were employed, including tin, copper, cast iron, glazed stoneware, marble, etc. Next enameled or porcelain-lined iron bath-tubs were introduced, which had a much improved shape and a white glazed inner surface. Even at this day these fixtures retain their deserved popularity, and are used extensively because they are somewhat cheaper and less heavy than the solid porcelain tubs.

The last twenty-five years have witnessed a marvelous progress in the art of plumbing modern buildings. Numerous improvements were made in the plumbing fixtures, in the laying out of the piping, in the materials used, and in the sanitary arrangement of the work. The reduced death rate of cities has been brought about partly through the better plumbing of houses, and in particular of the tenement-houses of large cities.

In the better class of houses solid porcelain and vitreous china fixtures have become very popular. The introduction of these wares created a large and constantly growing industry at the manufacturing potteries. The quality of American-made ware has rapidly improved, and is now superior to the foreign-made article. Other improvements in the plumbing work of houses followed the general introduction of open plumbing, such as the extensive use of brass pipes or of nickel or nickel-silver pipes and fittings. The entire tendency in modern plumbing is towards simplification and spotless cleanliness. Concealed piping is done away with, bath-room floors are tiled, and the walls either partially tiled or kept freshly painted, so that no opportunity is given germs or



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Touchy corns can be relieved instantly the Blue-jay way. And in 48 hours they come out, root and all, painlessly.

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Remember, paring is only temporary. And harsh liquids are dangerous. Only Blue-jay ends corns in a gentle, easy way. Nine out of ten are ended with the first treatment. A stubborn one requires a second or third.

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Modern Sanitation and Modern Plumbing
(Continued)

dust to find a hiding-place. The same may be said of the kitchen and laundry.

Legislators have of recent years given considerable thought to the enforcement of proper sanitary measures in order to protect the public health. In all large municipalities regulations have been passed governing the proper inspection and supervision of plumbing and drainage. Frequently the Health Department is given power to regulate the plumbing work in all new buildings. No plumbing can be done in them without filing plans and specifications at the department. Plumbing inspectors are appointed for the inspection of all new work, and for the enforcement of the regulations.

The tenement-house problem is a most serious one, especially in New York City, where the evils of overcrowding are constantly increasing. Formerly tenement-house construction was unregulated and the sanitary conditions were exceedingly bad. The New York Tenement-House Law now includes many regulations and restrictions, and makes provision for the compulsory construction of separate water-closets in every apartment as well as a proper water supply. The law includes many other wise provisions for improving the sanitary conditions of tenement-houses and providing for the safety, health, and comfort of their tenants. It also established a separate department to supervise the proper enforcement of all tenement-house laws, and to take charge of all matters concerning the construction and maintenance and sanitary condition of all tenement-houses with a proper systematic inspection.

A recent and most important development has been in the matter of factory sanitation. Men and equipment are the two essentials of successful manufacture. Well-equipped plants have a great variety of tools and machines which must be always in good working order Advanced superintendents are now beginning to realize that their workmen are just as important as the equipment, and must be kept in good condition. The necessity for modern sanitation in a factory does not rest entirely upon hygienic reasons, but is made imperative by the fact that money is saved, production cheapened, cost of maintenance lessened, better employees secured, and their efficiency enhanced, by the proper number and distribution of sanitary appliances. If, for instance, in a factory employing five hundred men each loses three minutes a day walking an unnecessary distance to the toilet convenience or waiting in line at the wash room, it would mean a loss each day of over three working days for one man. The extra cost of supplying sufficient equipment would perhaps not be as much as might be saved in one year by having it.

In many up-to-date factories shower-baths and lockers are provided for the men, on the theory that a bath is just as necessary to the well-being of the workman after eight hours' labor as it is to the athlete after a hard game. Workmen are human, and the better-dressed and cleaner an employee is, the greater asset he is to the business. The plant, then, which has the best conveniences will attract and hold the best workmen.

Modern sanitation has advanced much further in the United States than in other countries. The modern American home is equipped with conveniences that the average European does not dream of. The Englishman is regarded as the great exponent of the saying that "cleanliness is next

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